

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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FORUM ON MUNICH EVENTS HELD IN COLORADO: More than 200 people turned out on Sept. 7 to hear a forum on the events in Munich sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Arab Student Organization at the University of Colorado in Boulder. Speakers at the forum were Abdu Bsaies, chairman of the Arab Student Organization; Walid Sawish, a Palestinian refugee; Mohamed Adwan, a member of the Arab Student Organization; and Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for board of regents.

VICTORY FOR TEACHERS FIRED DURING WITCH-HUNT: The New York City Board of Education has finally taken action that will enable 31 teachers deprived of their jobs because of anticommunist hysteria of the 1950s to regain their teaching positions and pension rights. The teachers were dismissed for refusing to answer questions concerning their political beliefs and possible membership in the Communist Party.

CONTEMPT CHARGES AGAINST BOBBY SEALE DROPPED: As a result of the 1969 Chicago conspiracy trial in the kangaroo court of Judge Julius Hoffman, Bobby Seale, national chairman of the Black Panther Party, was sentenced to four years in prison for contempt of court. Seale appealed the sentence and won a new trial on the contempt charges.

Now the government has announced that it will drop the contempt charges rather than reveal transcripts of electronic surveillance concerning the case. The government had previously decided not to bring Seale to trial on the original conspiracy charges.

WHAT'S A LITTLE CANCER? Nothing to worry about, according to the Nixon administration, which has proposed that Congress make more "flexible" the law that forced such cancer-causing food additives as cyclamates removed from the market. About 3,000 chemical additives, accounting for sales of \$500-million a year by the companies that produce them, have been approved by the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA). But that's not good enough for the food and chemical industries.

"Even assuming that these chemicals are harmless," said one research chemist who testified before a Senate hearing on the proposed relaxation of bans on carcinogenic food additives, "the advantage in selling bread that does not go stale for a week or more . . . seems to lie more with the baker and retailer than with the consumer."

Unfortunately, existing regulations are not enforced even for known carcinogens. Nitrates and nitrites, which are added to ham, bacon, pastrami, corned beef, and sausages, are known to cause cancer and blood disease. But they are not only used as necessary additives to ensure freedom from botulism. They are also used as coloring and flavoring agents.



Militant/John Lauritsen

Sept. 30 picket line outside the Dominican consulate in New York drew 150 people in the rain. The demonstration, called by the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Dominican Republic and cosponsored by 16 other groups, demanded an end to the deportation of political activists from the Dominican Republic and the release of all political prisoners.

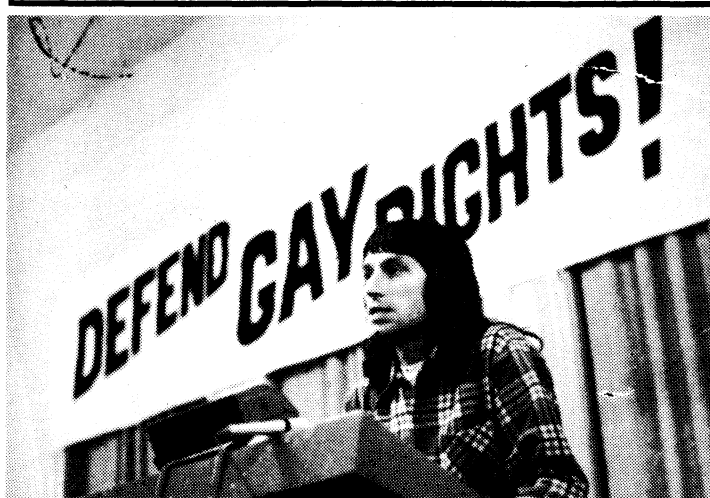
FORMER SDS LEADER JOINS YSA: Paul LeBlanc, a former national office staff member and an ex-member of the national council of Students for a Democratic Society, recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance. LeBlanc had been active in the Pittsburgh chapter of the New American Movement but found its theory and program inadequate and its membership inactive. An article by LeBlanc on "Socialists and Labor in the U.S." appears in the September issue of *Monthly Review*.

'DISGRACING THE UNIVERSITY': Last January, according to the *South Texan*, the student newspaper at Texas A&I University in Kingsville, Dr. Leonard Cohen

rose at a Rotary Club luncheon to defend the A&I students who publish the *Market Paper*. The paper had been attacked as being "Communist-inspired propaganda." Cohen was told later that he "had disgraced the University."

In February Cohen testified in behalf of Efrain Fernandez, a Chicano activist in Pharr, Texas, who was being tried on phony charges of inciting a riot. Fernandez was acquitted, but Texas A&I has decided not to rehire Cohen.

WASHINGTON, D. C., PRISONERS WIN REFORMS: On Sept. 29 some 1,800 men at Lorton Reformatory in Washington, D. C., ended a five-day work stoppage after winning concessions on such things as medical care, food, visiting procedures, and disciplinary procedures.



Mike McConnell speaking at Militant Forum in Minneapolis, Sept. 29. McConnell gained national prominence last year when he and Jack Baker, student body president of the University of Minnesota, challenged the Minnesota laws against gay marriage.

The 75 people at the forum also heard Becky Bohan of the Young Socialist Alliance and the U of Minn. Women's Liberation Group. After the forum McConnell endorsed the 1972 Socialist Workers Party campaign.

AWOL MARINE GIVEN YEAR TERM: Private Thomas Michaud, the Marine Vietnam veteran who turned himself in on July 13 on the floor of the Democratic Party national convention, was sentenced on Sept. 20. He received the maximum sentence of one year at hard labor, forfeiture of all pay and allowances, and a dishonorable discharge.

Michaud was attempting to dramatize the issue of amnesty by his surrender at the Miami convention. At his trial he detailed his growing disenchantment with the Vietnam war and the racism in the Marine Corps, which had led to his decision to go AWOL.

SARGENT SHRIVER SHRIVELED: Militant reader Ken Stanton writes that David Rossi, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the 86th State Legislative District in Houston, was selling *The Militant* after a University of Houston meeting for Sargent Shriver. As Shriver was leaving the University Center, he heard Rossi calling, "Read about the McGovern tax program!"

"It's a damn good program," Shriver said.

As onlookers began to gather, Rossi responded, "No it isn't! It fools around with capital gains but doesn't charge basic industry one bit!"

Someone shouted, "Let Shriver speak," but the infuriated Shriver was speechless. He could only glower at Rossi and stalk out of the building.

A BOOK OF ANTIWAR CARTOONS AND CARICATURE: Absolutely No U.S. Personnel Beyond This Point is published by Dell. It contains the work of 37 artists, including Jules Feiffer, Marv Tannenber, Edward Sorel, Gahan Wilson, David Levine, and others of similar stature. Proceeds from the sale of the book will go to the National Peace Action Coalition.

SIX OF LOUISVILLE SEVEN FREED: Charges against five of seven Blacks accused in a holdup of a tourist home last May were dropped after the prosecutor in their trial admitted that none of the robbery victims had identified them. Three of the five were members of the Black Panther Party in Louisville, Ky. Another BPP member, Benjamin Simmons, was tried and acquitted. But William Blakemore, 20, was found guilty and faces at least 10 years in prison.

The Panthers and their supporters charged that they were framed because of their fight against drug pushers in the Louisville area. During the trial one key prosecution witness admitted that he had been coached in his identification of Simmons by police, and that the witness who identified Blakemore had been coached as well.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Jenness blasts McGovern campaign for refusal to build L.A. antiwar action

By PEGGY BRUNDY

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 3—"If McGovern is really against the war, let's see him act like it. I challenge George McGovern to join me in building the antiwar demonstrations called for Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 by the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee."

This challenge was part of a statement made by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, to more than 20 radio stations in the Los Angeles area while she campaigned here last week.

She pointed out that McGovern's campaign committee in Los Angeles made its opposition to action against the war clear when it refused to support the Sept. 27 Los Angeles antiwar demonstration called by a coalition of many peace groups in the area.

I joined the Jenness campaign trail in Los Angeles on Saturday, Sept. 30. Jenness had just concluded a tour of Seattle, Wash., and San Diego, Calif., so I asked her what seemed to be uppermost in the minds of people coming to her campaign meetings.

"One thing that was clear to me this week," she said, "was that the war is still the main thing on people's minds." That was true, she said, at a meeting she had in Seattle at the University of Washington, attended by more than 200 people, and at a meeting at San Diego State College.

"On the campuses many people see through McGovern on other issues," she told me. "They no longer believe he will do anything to aid the struggles of labor, women, the oppressed nationalities, or gays. But there still is one question where they think there is a significant difference between McGovern and Nixon—and that is the

war in Vietnam.

"I point out that while these two men claim to have differences about the war, these differences are just tactical. On the basic issues involved in Vietnam, they agree."

Jenness spoke at a meeting at the University of California at Los Angeles on Oct. 2. About 175 people attended. A member of the audience said he thought that since Hanoi has issued statements saying McGovern is a lesser evil, those opposed to the war should follow the North Vietnamese and support McGovern.

Jenness responded: "Hanoi is wrong about McGovern being a lesser evil. Whereas I solidarize myself with the struggle of the Vietnamese and think that the job of every radical and revolutionist is to defend them against the attack of U.S. imperialism, that doesn't mean we should accept a mistaken analysis of American politics by the Hanoi government."

"You know, many Cubans in 1960 thought John F. Kennedy would be a lesser evil than Nixon in relation to the Cuban revolution. We support the Cuban revolution, but we disagreed with their analysis of the two-party system. Two years later, Kennedy invaded Cuba."

"There is no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, between McGovern and Nixon. What we have to do is build the antiwar movement among the American people."

"It's not just the audiences I speak to that are feeling sold out by McGovern," Jenness told me. "The press interviews I've had indicate that this is a very widely accepted fact. For instance, reporters who interviewed me for the *San Diego Union* and the *Los Angeles Times* had both been McGov-

ern supporters and were now turned off by him. In fact, the reporter from the *San Diego Union* had been reading *The Militant* consistently for several months."

Here in Los Angeles, I attended a fund-raising banquet for Jenness on Sept. 30. Around 150 people were there and more than \$1,400 was raised.

Further evidence of the growing disillusionment with McGovern came from two new supporters from San Diego whom I met at the banquet. Herb Savage, a 44-year-old engineer, told me that for several months he and Marilee Savage had been campaigning hard for McGovern, ringing doorbells to register new Democratic voters and licking stamps for fund-raising mailings.

"At first we thought that McGovern was honest," said Herb Savage. "... But he turned out to be no different than Kennedy or Johnson or Nixon. He says he's a peace candidate, but he's not. At the Democratic Party convention, he said he would send troops into Israel—and he's not going to end the war in Vietnam. We watched him retreat on every issue and we were getting more and more disgusted with him."

"Last week we saw an ad for a meeting sponsored by the YSA [Young Socialist Alliance], and we decided to go hear Geoff Mirelowitz speak. Right then and there we decided to switch from the Democratic Party to the Socialist Workers Party. The next day we went down and changed our registration."

Marilee Savage told me that she had gone with Jenness on a typical campaign day in San Diego. Starting at 9 a.m. on Sept. 28, she listened to Jenness give interviews to Channel

8 TV, the *San Diego Union*, the San Diego State College newspaper, and Channel 20 TV. She watched Jenness hold a news conference, speak to a Chicano studies class at San Diego State College, and address a large evening meeting at that campus.

I asked her if by now she wasn't getting a little tired of hearing Jenness speak. "Oh no," she said, "I'm tired of hearing the lies and phony promises of the other candidates."



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Jenness on TV

Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate, will appear on the "Hat in the Ring" TV news special at 11:30 p.m. on Oct. 12. The show will be broadcast on Channel 4 in San Antonio, Texas. The program will also be shown on Oct. 13 at 11:30 p.m. in the following cities: Cincinnati, Ohio (Channel 5); Columbus, Ohio (Channel 4); Dayton Ohio (Channel 2); and Indianapolis, Ind. (Channel 13).

Speaks at N.Y. rally with school bd. member

Pulley: 'Join fall protests against the war'



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Jane Tam, member of New York District 1 school board, described struggle by Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese to control their schools at Sept. 30 SWP campaign rally. Andrew Pulley also addressed rally, which was sponsored by Lower Manhattan SWP.

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 3—"On the war in Vietnam, we are for immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces. And to get out today or yesterday would not be soon enough as far as we are concerned," declared Andrew Pulley at a news conference held here today.

Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, urged support for the antiwar demonstrations planned for Oct. 26 and Nov. 18. "We call upon McGovern supporters," he said, to "use their resources to build these demonstrations."

McGovern's whole approach, Pulley said, "has been to get the young people

out of the streets and into his back pocket. ... So the crimes of barbarism going on in Vietnam today must fall squarely on the shoulders of both Nixon and McGovern, both the Democrats and Republicans."

As part of his tour in the New York area, Pulley addressed campaign rallies in Lower Manhattan and in Brooklyn.

At the Lower Manhattan rally, held Sept. 30, two of the guest speakers were Marybeth Yakoubian, editor of the *Student Middle East Review*, and Jane Tam, Chinese member of the District 1 school board.

Tam spoke as an activist in the struggle by Chinese, Blacks, and Puer-

to Ricans in District 1 to control their schools. Their struggle has focused on defending the school board's appointment of Luis Fuentes, a Puerto Rican, as superintendent of schools. The appointment of Fuentes has been vehemently opposed by Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers, the New York Board of Education, various Zionist organizations, and the *New York Times* and *New York Post*.

Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 18th C.D., also spoke at the rally. Finch described an encounter she had with her incumbent opponent, Democrat Edward Koch.

At a recent "town hall" meeting sponsored by Koch on the Lower East Side, Finch asked him if he would support the Nov. 18 antiwar demonstrations, if he endorsed the Abortion Rights Act of 1972, and if he stood on the side of the Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese struggling to control their schools on the Lower East Side.

Although Koch says he is opposed to the war, he said "no" to both the first and second questions. He refused to take a position on the community-control issue in District 1.

The 200 people who attended the Lower Manhattan rally donated more than \$1,800 to help build the SWP campaign.

The evening before, 100 people attended a campaign rally in Brooklyn, where Pulley spoke. John Hawkins, SWP candidate for U.S. Con-

gress in the 12th C.D., currently represented by Democrat Shirley Chisholm, also addressed the gathering.

"Like every Black community in the country," Hawkins said, "the Brooklyn Black community is in a state of advanced decay. Traffic in heroin flourishes ... while police, for the right sum of course, look the other way. The use of heroin is so widespread in Bedford-Stuyvesant that nearly 10 percent of the children born at Kings County Hospital are born addicted to the drug."

Hawkins concluded: "What the 12th Congressional District needs is not a change in who runs the Democratic machine in the district—that machine will continue to turn out scrap no matter who the operator is or how well-intentioned she or he might be. What the 12th Congressional District needs is ... an independent Black political party opposed to the Democrats as well as the Republicans."

Brooklyn campaign supporters donated more than \$800 at the rally.

Pulley, who is on the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, also addressed a meeting of 110 people at Columbia University.

Before arriving in New York, Pulley held a Sept. 27 news conference in Providence, R.I., and then spoke at the other end of the state at the University of Rhode Island. He addressed more than 100 people at a campaign rally in Boston, Mass., on Sept. 26. The rally raised \$500 in contributions.

Debate in antiwar movement over supporting '7-point peace plan'

By DAN ROSENSHINE

Antiwar groups in several cities have called Oct. 14 marches and rallies around two demands: support the seven-point peace program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) and "dump Nixon." Preparations for these actions have been marred by political exclusion and a sectarian refusal to work with other antiwar forces to build the broadest possible demonstrations this fall.

The groups involved in the Oct. 14 actions have not yet endorsed the nationwide Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 actions demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. forces

ning its action. Since then, the Oct. 14 Coalition in New York, involving the Parade Committee and other groups, voted to exclude representatives of NPAC from attending a planning session.

NPAC, on the other hand, has been effective in building massive antiwar demonstrations because it welcomes the participation of all forces in the actions, including revolutionary socialists, liberals, Democrats, pacifists, etc. It has included supporters of the seven-point program, and other opponents of the immediate withdrawal demand, in planning demonstrations and speaking at rallies.

NPAC does not take a position for

It is not a service to the Vietnamese liberation forces to base the political position of the antiwar movement on the Vietnamese negotiating position in Paris. Such positions—and even the fact that the Vietnamese engage in negotiations at all—are based on the fact that Vietnam is under attack from the U. S.

If the Vietnamese are forced to make concessions, or even offer them, the antiwar movement must not welcome this fact. It must point out that such concessions are being forced by the armed intervention of the mightiest military power in the world.

A parallel presents itself from the history of the Russian revolution: in 1918 the new Bolshevik regime, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, concluded the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany, ceding a large part of Russia to German occupation. While the Bolsheviks thought that this agreement was forced upon them by the exhaustion of Russia after four years of war, they fully expected that German socialists and antiwar fighters would oppose Germany's imposition of the unjust accord. Those who did not do so Lenin characterized as "scoundrels." It was no excuse, Lenin said, for German socialists to support the treaty because the Bolsheviks had signed it.

Likewise, the Vietnamese have every right to decide what concessions they will or will not make to end the destruction of their country. But there is no reason for the international antiwar movement to consider making concessions. We are not facing the terror-bombing of the largest air armada since World War II. Our demand must be that the U. S. had no right to be in Vietnam in the first place, and it has to get out now.

Some supporters of the seven-point plan go so far as to issue material pointing out how "reasonable" the Vietnamese liberation forces are because they have not called for installing a "communist regime" in South Vietnam. This undercuts the antiwar movement; it gives credence to the anticommunist reasons the U. S. government gave for intervening in Vietnam in the first place. Such propaganda contradicts the already wide-

spread sentiment to let the people of Indochina determine their own future and have *any type* of government without U. S. interference.

An antiwar movement built on the seven points would leave itself open to disorientation by the diplomatic maneuvers and propaganda ploys carried out by the U. S. If the masses of Americans were to be educated by the antiwar movement to support withdrawal only on a conditional basis, that is, only provided the Vietnamese live up to certain conditions, the U. S. would have a free hand to continue, or re-start, the war by claiming the Vietnamese had not met the specified conditions.

For example, given the record of duplicity of various U. S. administrations, there is no reason to believe that the U. S. would not look for a pretext to continue the war once an already-agreed-upon "terminal date" had been reached. The correct approach for the antiwar movement, even if Nixon, or McGovern, were to "set a date," would still be to demonstrate until every last American soldier, plane, and piece of materiel had been withdrawn.

The seven-point program deals not only with the logistics of an American withdrawal; it also outlines a particular political perspective for the future of South Vietnam. As well as being a diplomatic position in Paris, the seven points would presumably be the program of the PRG within South Vietnam.

It is not the role of the American antiwar movement—just as it should not be the role of the American government—to decide upon a future political perspective for the Vietnamese. Different forces within the antiwar movement may have one or another opinion of the PRG program. But to base antiwar actions on a particular political perspective for Vietnam, whether the seven points or any other, can only narrow their base of support.

What the Vietnamese people most need is a mass, united antiwar movement that can force the U. S. out of Indochina and let the Vietnamese decide their future for themselves. The Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 actions planned by the National Peace Action Coalition are the next target dates for such united antiwar actions.



Part of giant crowd at April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration. United action brought hundreds of thousands to Washington to demand 'Out Now!'

from Indochina, called at an open national antiwar conference attended by 700 people in Los Angeles in July. These actions are being sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition.

An Oct. 14 Coalition was established in San Francisco in August and sent out a national call for Oct. 14 actions around the two slogans. The New York Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and the Los Angeles Peace Action Council, two groups affiliated with the national People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, are building Oct. 14 actions. Actions are also being organized in Portland, Philadelphia, and Boston.

In their national call for Oct. 14 actions the San Francisco group stated, "We must let the American people know that there is a just and reasonable solution to the war: by spelling out the contents of the Seven Point Peace Proposal." They, like the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice on a national scale, oppose the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Indochina, supported by NPAC, and counterpose to it the demand that the U. S. accept the PRG seven-point plan.

Exclusion

The San Francisco Oct. 14 Coalition also decided to *exclude* all those who do not support the seven-point program from participating in plan-

or against the PRG seven-point program. It is a nonexclusionary coalition based on building mass actions against the war.

What exactly is the seven-point program, which the Oct. 14 Coalitions and PCPJ would like the antiwar movement to adopt as its central demand? It is the negotiating position of the Vietnamese liberation forces in the Paris peace talks—a position the Vietnamese believe offers enough concessions to possibly convince the U. S. to withdraw its forces.

In return for U. S. agreement to "set a terminal date" for the withdrawal of all U. S. forces, the seven-point program offers arrangements for a ceasefire, reciprocal release of prisoners, and a prohibition of "reprisals and discrimination" against collaborators with "one or the other party." It also provides for a new administration to replace the Thieu regime in Saigon, one "favoring peace, independence, neutrality and democracy."

The PRG, the seven-point program says, will then enter into talks with this new Saigon regime to form "a broad three-segment government of national concord" that will organize "genuinely free, democratic, and fair general elections." The seven-point program also projects a South Vietnam, which, "in keeping with . . . the 1954 Geneva agreements," will "refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries."

Union official tries to arbitrate war

Antiwar figures who meet privately with administration officials to aid in the negotiations over the Indochina war are not helping the antiwar movement. A case in point was brought to our attention by an Oct. 2 guest article in the *New York Times* by David Livingston, president of District 65, Distributive Workers of America.

Livingston is a longtime supporter of the antiwar movement who visited North Vietnam in March with two other union officials and met with Le Duc Tho, chief North Vietnamese negotiator in Paris. Upon returning to the U. S. he held a private discussion with Henry Kissinger. Then, in May, he took Kissinger's remarks back to Le Duc Tho in Paris.

Le Duc Tho, says Livingston, stressed that he did not want a socialist revolution in South Vietnam but a three-segment coalition government—composed of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, "independents," and the current Saigon regime (minus Thieu)—with each segment picking its own

representatives. Livingston quotes Le Duc Tho as saying that "Communists would be a small minority" even in the PRG segment.

The union official recounts his visit with Kissinger, who claimed that he would also support a coalition government, but that the Vietnamese were obstructing its achievement. The U. S. has greatly intensified the war since the spring, Livingston concludes, because the administration refuses to recognize that the Vietnamese liberation forces really do not want a "communist regime" in South Vietnam.

But the Vietnamese have the unconditional right to have any type of government they want without American interference, or without having to have prior agreement from the U. S.

Livingston's diplomatic journey totally contradicts the principle of self-determination upon which the antiwar movement has been built. Such private meetings with Kissinger and his ilk are based on the chauvinist notion that the U. S. has a right to negotiate Vietnam's future.

15,000 picket Nixon in L.A. antiwar action

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Some 15,000 antiwar protesters thronged the area of the swank Century Plaza Hotel Sept. 27 as President Nixon was feted at a \$1,000-a-plate campaign dinner.

The big turnout for the demonstration was achieved on eight day's notice by a broad coalition of forces. It was a fitting reply to the frequent pronouncements about the "death" of the antiwar movement.

Pro-McGovern forces were involved in the building of the action, and it is quite likely that many of those who turned out intend to vote for him. But the demonstration was clearly an antiwar protest and not a pro-McGovern demonstration as some may have hoped it would be.

Most of the signs made by individual protesters were of a directly antiwar character, as were those of such groups as the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and Student Mobilization Committee (SMC).

McGovern's Los Angeles campaign staff made it very clear that it wanted no part of the demonstration.

Initially, some of those building the action began using phones at McGovern campaign offices to spread the word. This was quickly stopped. Fred Epstein, a press aide at the Democratic headquarters, told reporters that only a "handful" of people had been doing this and said, "The fact that it was stopped indicates the limited extent of our support."

Attempting to make a campaign issue out of the use of Democratic phones, the Republicans demagogically demanded that McGovern post a \$1-million bond to compensate those who might be injured as a result of the demonstration.

In response, a McGovern spokesman said that "no one in our campaign organization has endorsed or

actively organized" the slated action.

A broad range of forces joined in building the demonstration. Among the groups represented at the initiating meeting were the Peace Action Council, NPAC, Women Strike for Peace, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, National Lawyers Guild, SMC, SDS, Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Labor Party, the Vietnamese Student Union for Peace, and others.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, which usually limits itself to furnishing legal assistance at demonstrations, played an active role in building the protest.

ACLU made the initial announcement of the action and held a widely publicized news conference a few days before Nixon's arrival. A spokesman said the ACLU board decided to participate mainly to help avert a repetition of a bloody police attack on a similar Century Plaza demonstration when Lyndon Johnson was there in 1967.

Unlike that night, which is well-remembered in this city, the present demonstration was held without incident. This time the cops were on good behavior, and the huge crowd was clearly determined not to offer any pretext for attack.

The throngs that marched around the Century City Plaza area on which the hotel faces were spirited but disciplined and extended full cooperation to the monitors.

The big turnout was a morale-booster for antiwar activists. Their spirits were reflected in the hoots of derision that greeted the Cadillacs rolling up to the hotel for the affair. The demonstration underlined why Nixon is conducting his campaign with a minimum of public appearances.

Sept. 27 at Century Plaza will prove a spur to renewed mass efforts to end the Vietnam war.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

PICKET AGAINST AGNEW CALLED FOR OCT. 13. An Oct. 1 regional antiwar conference held by the New York affiliate of the National Peace Action Coalition called a picket line to greet Vice-President Agnew when he speaks at an Oct. 13 Conservative Party banquet. The demonstration will be held at the New York Hilton, 53rd St. and Sixth Ave. from 6 to 8 p. m.

The conference was one of several regional conferences held around the country to build momentum for Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 national antiwar actions called by the National Peace Action Coalition. Speakers at the New York conference included Fred Branfman of Project Air War and NPAC coordinators Katherine Sojourner and Ruth Gage-Colby.

Army brass try to harass, silence PWs

By TONY THOMAS

OCT. 3—The release of three U.S. prisoners of war on Sept. 17 by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) has exposed the Nixon administration's lack of concern with U.S. servicemen held prisoner in the DRV. All three released prisoners, Air Force Major Edward Elias and Navy lieutenants Norris Charles and Mark Gartley, were pilots shot down over Vietnam.

The three were released in custody of the Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam. Yale University Chaplain William S. Coffin, Women Strike for Peace leader Cora Weiss, and People's Coalition for Peace and Justice leader David Dellinger represented the committee.

The only conditions the Vietnamese put on the release of the U.S. pilots was that they not return to the Indochina war effort and that they not return to the U.S. on military or other U.S. government transport. The latter stipulation was apparently designed to hinder government attempts to gag the pilots.

Previous prisoners released by the Vietnamese have been taken immediately into military custody and "debriefed" on the character of the Indochina war. In several instances prisoners who went into this custody as opponents of the war emerged as supporters of it.

According to the Oct. 2 *New York Times*, Gartley "called his treatment in a North Vietnam prison camp 'humane,' affirmed that he had not been mistreated and pictured prison conditions as steadily improving." Speaking at a news conference, he said, "But when you take into account the standard of living in the country in which we were confined and examine the conditions, you'd have to say we were treated very well."

Testimony by Gartley on conditions in the prison camps has the potential of undermining prowar hysteria whipped up around the "mistreatment" of U.S. prisoners in the DRV.

Antiwar statements by the released pilots also pose a threat to the government's prowar propaganda. Norris Charles was reported by the Oct. 9 *Newsweek* as saying, "If you, the American people, want to bring [the remaining POW's] home you can do it." Charles also said, "If everybody could go over and see it for themselves, the war would be over right now."

To prevent returned prisoners from airing these types of views the Pentagon had devised a program called "Operation Egress Recap." The goal of Egress, according to *Times* writer Everett Holles, writing on Sept. 29, is "to provide the isolation [of the POWs] needed for effective medical and psychological treatment."

Holles reported that under Egress POWs would be held for at least a month, and probably longer, on hospital ships or at military hospitals in the Far East and Hawaii. Afterwards they would be released to military hospitals in the U.S. for an unspecified number of months.

Part of this process would entail taking care of any changes in the POWs' personalities—or political views—as a result of capture. Holles wrote that this process would include "debriefings to 'put in proper balance' Communist accounts of the extent of antiwar feeling in the United States."

Holles believes that the refusal of the three pilots to immediately turn themselves in to military authorities "possibly frustrated" the use of Operation Egress Recap in the future. He admitted that since the release of the

prisoners military spokesmen have banned any discussion with the news media on this operation.

The three prisoners refused requests by U.S. government officials to submit to Egress Recap in stops at Moscow and Copenhagen on their return. They rescheduled their flight to exclude a stop at Vientiane in Laos when it became clear that they might be taken off their flight and put on a waiting military "medical evacuation" plane. All news reports and medical tests in military hospitals since their return to the U.S. have made clear they are in good health.

When they arrived in New York,



Mark Gartley with his mother, after brass refused to allow him some time with his family.

they were ordered to military hospitals. Both Charles and Gartley's relatives engaged in shouting matches with military officials, demanding to be allowed to spend several days with the prisoners before they became victims of Egress. All three pilots were immediately taken away by the military.

Both Gartley and Charles remain separated from their families at this writing. Both have been restricted from discussing their views with the news media. In a New York news conference held after his return, Gartley got up and left, claiming he had to "catch a plane" when he was asked to state his views on his treatment by the U.S. government.

The Sept. 30 *New York Times* gives this report of Charles's arrival in San Diego, where he was put in a naval hospital: "Newsmen at the airfield [were] kept 40 feet away from the uniformed 27-year-old pilot, . . . although he seemed willing and even eager to talk with the reporters. Several times when the lieutenant started to move toward the beckoning newsmen he was pulled back by Navy public relations officers."

Despite the Nixon administration's crocodile tears about the POWs, these events have shown that the government is more concerned with denying them their constitutional rights to free speech and "recapturing" them through Egress than freeing them. Several prowar prisoner-of-war wives went so far as to tell reporters that the three pilots should have stayed in prison rather than participate in the release.

The only way to help the POWs is for the U.S. to withdraw all of its forces from Southeast Asia and stop the war. Instead, the Nixon administration continues the saturation bombing, causing more Vietnamese to die and more U.S. pilots to be killed or imprisoned. As the pilots have pointed out, more than 50 GIs have become prisoners since Nixon reescalated the bombing of the DRV in April.

Mass terrorism

On Oct. 1 the House of Representatives voted 354 to 2 to authorize the death penalty for plane hijackers and terrorists. This occurred as the U. S. government continued its campaign through the United Nations and other channels to forge international ruling class collaboration on repressive measures aimed at national and social liberation movements under the guise of "antiterrorism."

Only two days later a report from a subcommittee of the House of Representatives exposed the real view of the U. S. rulers toward terrorism: They fully support the use of massive terror against popular liberation struggles, and oppose only the terrorism of the oppressed who are fighting against their oppressors.

The report cited official Pentagon figures admitting that 20,587 Vietnamese were assassinated with the help of American soldiers between 1968 and May of 1971 under the program called "Phoenix." Former Phoenix intelligence agent K. Barton Osborn testified before the subcommittee that the primary purpose of the Phoenix program was to assassinate Vietnamese suspected of supporting the National Liberation Front. He said that suspects who were captured instead of assassinated were either tortured to death or thrown out of helicopters in an effort to force them to give information.

Osborne described some of the tortures he had seen performed by Americans, including the slow starving to death of a woman and the gradual tapping of rods into suspects' ears until their brains were penetrated.

These savage acts are only indications of the ruthless mentality of the U. S. ruling class and their readiness to use the most barbaric means to preserve their system of profits for the few and exploitation and poverty for the masses.

On the same day the report on the Phoenix program was released, the Pentagon published statistics showing that the tonnage of U. S. bombs dropped in Indochina during the first nine months of 1972—800,000 tons—has already exceeded the tonnage dropped in all of 1971. Enormous human misery and destruction of natural resources are lodged within this cold statistic.

The Phoenix program, the bombing of Indochina, and other still secret methods such as rainmaking are some of the forms of mass terrorism employed day after day by the U. S. government against the Vietnamese people.

And these torturers, assassins, and bombers in the U. S. government are trying to pose before the world as enlightened, "civilized" opponents of terrorism!

JDL violence

On Sept. 26 the Israeli government confirmed that a number of arms shipments earmarked for a terrorist campaign against Arabs had been successfully airfreighted out of Israel. The Jewish Defense League (JDL), a right-wing Zionist group that originated in Brooklyn in 1968 as a vigilante organization directed against Blacks, claimed responsibility for the arms-smuggling.

JDL leader Meir Kahane, who emigrated to Israel, has announced that the JDL is forming a terrorist group against Arabs, with the slogan "an eye for an eye, terror for terror."

Although the Israeli government has been carrying out terrorist actions against Arab villagers on a scale Kahane could never hope to match, the JDL leader has run into trouble with it because of his attempt to organize his own terror campaign. Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir has openly raised the possibility that her regime will organize terrorist operations outside Israel, but the Zionist rulers want any anti-Arab terrorism to be under their own control and conducted with consideration for diplomatic factors.

While the JDL is smuggling arms out of Israel, further developments on its activities in this country have been reported. Three JDL members pleaded guilty Sept. 26 to charges related to the bombing of two Soviet diplomatic facilities in New York. And in Los Angeles five men, including local JDL leader Irving Rubin, were arrested Sept. 13 on suspicion of bombing the apartment of a Palestinian Arab, Mohammed Shaath.

The listless response to JDL terrorism on the part of the news media, police, and courts is in marked contrast to their hysterical campaign against Arab terrorists. On Sept. 15 the Los Angeles district attorney dropped charges against three of the five men arrested for the bombing, including Irving Rubin.

Newsweek

I was angered by the *Newsweek* article "The Terrorist International" when I read it. This is a blatant attempt to slander socialism and at the same time defend Israel's offensive. *The Militant* is available on hundreds of campuses so there is no excuse for *Newsweek's* ignorance about the position of Trotskyites and their sympathizers on terrorism. You have been consistent in opposing terrorist tactics and advocating responsible mass-action tactics as the way to build revolution.

Even though I felt compassion for the 11 athletes killed in Munich, I could not express it because the Israeli government was cynically using such expressions as justification for their terrorizing of the Arab refugee camps. Moses's an eye for an eye would be much preferable to the philosophy that justifies the killing of hundreds of Arabs in revenge for the murder of 11 Israeli citizens. Rev. James R. Bradshaw
Boston, Mass.

From New Zealand

No person can be a member of the "new left" without subscribing to your paper, so I would like to subscribe. I already have subscriptions to many underground papers and would like you to send me information and subscription forms so I can get some of my friends introduced to your paper.

H. H. R.
Christchurch, N. Z.

Tip for selling subs

Times are really changing. Usually, when I try to sell *Militant* subs I am the one who has to make the approach to the prospective subscriber. Today just the opposite happened.

At a grocery checkout counter I had laid down a folded-up copy of *The Militant* along with several local radical newspapers. The clerk, whom I had never seen before, spotted *The Militant* and asked if there was any place around where he could get a copy. A friend of his read it and had always spoken favorably of it.

So all I had to do was to suggest a 20-week sub for a dollar, and he cheerfully and immediately agreed. When a paper's good reputation gets around, you don't need to rely as often on salesmanship skills.

At present I am unable to devote time to organized sub campaigns, but I try to do all I can with the people I come in contact with—whether or not a sub drive is going on. For instance, in the last week I have sold four *Militant* and one *International Socialist Review* subscriptions on this very part-time basis.

I have found that one thing helps a lot: I always carry a sub blank in my wallet. Then when I talk to someone and get them to agree to take out a sub, I can make it concrete with the sub blank. I always offer to send it in myself that day by airmail.

John R. Glenn
Venice, Calif.

'Spokeswoman'

The new issue of *Spokeswoman for Abortion Law Repeal* will be out very soon. We are looking forward to exchanging subscriptions with you on a regular basis in the near future.

This issue is going to be a very exciting one. We recently held a cross-country coordinating committee meeting here in Toronto, with delegations from all the provincial coalitions. Coming out of this meeting were proposals for actions in the fall.

The proposals included projections for actions in the high schools and on the campuses as well as on how we should orient to the elections this fall. Another very important projection is for regional actions across the country on Oct. 21 and for a cross-country conference some time in the spring, probably February.

We would like to begin exchanging subscriptions with you as soon as possible.

Joanne Clifton
Spokeswoman for Abortion Law Repeal
Box 5673, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

Gov't snow job

It's simply not true that the government is generous only with money for war. For instance, with but three dissenting votes the Senate approved an initial \$15.5-million for construction of sports facilities for the 1976 Winter Olympics at Denver. The bill allows for added money to cover "ordinary fluctuations" in construction costs.

The money includes \$3-million for a refrigerated luge course (that's for people to sled race on their backs). Another \$75,000 is to provide TV lighting for the Denver coliseum. Which is only reasonable, considering the impoverished state of the television industry. Another \$1.4-million will be used to buy land for an arena the city of Denver will build for an estimated \$10-million (with due regard, of course, for fluctuations).

The Federal Housing Authority will toss in another \$15.5-million in "urban renewal" funds to provide adequate quarters for the press. Moreover, it is assured, after the games are over the housing will be made available to poor Chicanos and Blacks.

Other planned expenditures include \$4.6-million by the Defense Department to provide military personnel for the games. However, that isn't really an added tax bite. As Senator Allott of Colorado explains, it's an "active part of the training" of the Engineer Corps.

About \$45-million seed money. A modest enough sum for a sporting nation that long ago solved all its social problems.

H. R.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Antiwar printers

As an active member of Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53 currently involved in our campaign to organize unorganized printers and to strengthen our union as a labor organization, I found the article "Issues facing national typographers union" (*Militant*, Sept. 22) interesting and thought provoking.

Space permitting, I'd like to see further discussion of some of the issues by printers around the country who are readers of *The Militant*. As a starter, I'd like to comment on the fact that the International Typographical Union convention voted down resolutions against the Vietnam war on grounds of noninter-



Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith

The case of Dr. Livingston

"New Jersey vs. Dr. Livingston"—a special interview featured in the October *WONAAC Newsletter*—spotlights an important defense case for the abortion rights movement.

Dr. Robert Livingston was indicted Aug. 24 by a grand jury in Bergen County, N.J., for "conspiracy, intent, and attempt to commit an abortion." Recently Livingston and Kerry Kohnert, a registered nurse who works with him, granted an interview to Barbara Mutnick, a staff member of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

In the interview, Livingston explains that he has been openly performing abortions since last March, when a three-judge federal court ruled the 122-year-old New Jersey abortion law unconstitutional. "... we periodically issued press releases saying we were continuing to do abortions," he recalls. "The main purpose was to get doctors in other parts of the state to announce that they would also perform abortions, hoping then that the hospitals would follow."

New Jersey authorities, such as Attorney General George Kugler, have said that despite the court decision they consider abortions to be illegal in the state. However, when Livingston first made public announcements about the abortions he was doing, they didn't move against him.

They seemed to prefer "playing cops and robbers," as Livingston puts it, going to the ridiculous lengths of "taking long-range photos with telephoto lenses and checking license plate numbers of nurses."

When the police finally did pick up Livingston in August, the patient he was treating at the time was not even having an abortion! The cops raided the office when they saw Livingston take a woman to the hospital for routine treatment of pregnancy-related bleeding.

"... they couldn't decide what to arrest me for, when they began to find out there had been no abortion," Livingston recalls. Despite examinations of the

patient and testimony from nurses, the grand jury went ahead and indicted Livingston for "attempted" abortion.

Concerning the opponents of women's right to abortion, Livingston says the following: "This whole argument that because you kill a cell, or an egg and sperm that have supposedly matured to a stage of early embryo development, you've committed murder doesn't make any sense. ... As far as the law goes, I don't think there should be any restrictions [on abortion] at all. ..."

"You've got to tell women to keep trying, that only women are going to change it. The men are not going to do a damn thing. ..."

The charges against Dr. Livingston are serious—he could receive a jail term and lose his license. His case involves more than just his right to practice. It is a direct challenge by New Jersey authorities to the federal court decision throwing out the old law and to the abortion rights movement.

To register your protest, send letters or telegrams to: David Lucas, Acting Prosecutor, and Arthur Stein, Assistant Prosecutor, Bergen County Prosecutor's Office, Hackensack Court House, Hackensack, N.J.; and George Cahill, Governor, State Capitol, Trenton, N.J.

In addition to the Livingston interview, the October *WONAAC Newsletter* contains reports on the local abortion tribunals scheduled for October; plans for confronting the U.S. Supreme Court Oct. 11 when it rules on several state abortion law cases; and information on the petition campaign for the Abortion Rights Act. There is also a parody by *WONAAC* staff member Judith Lambert on the anti-abortion groups' campaign for "the rights of the fetus," featuring "Professor Rubber Brains."

The *Newsletter* is available from WONAAC for 15 cents per copy or \$3 for a year's subscription. Write to: WONAAC, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 315, New York, N.Y. 10011.

vention in government foreign policy.

What was significant, however, was not the fact that the convention voted the resolution down but the increase of antiwar sentiment among printers that the debate and vote revealed.

At the Cleveland ITU convention in 1968, the Buffalo convention in 1970, and again in Milwaukee in 1972, a delegate from Los Angeles presented a resolution opposing American involvement in the Indochina war. At Cleveland, one lone other delegate recorded his vote in support of the proposition.

In Milwaukee this year an impressive minority voted against the Indochina war and/or for a similar proposition from San Francisco by a delegate acting on instructions from his local. Among those who voted for the antiwar resolutions were delegates from New York, Boston, San Francisco, Sacramento, St. Paul, Denver, Stockton, Erie (Pa.), Newark, Lincoln (Neb.), San Jose, and Dallas.

I am among those who are convinced that as working men and women gain confidence in their own capacity to organize themselves in their own interests as human beings, they will reject the idea that they should not speak out on foreign policy or anything else.

Jean Y. Tussey
Cleveland, Ohio

Prison labor exploited

I wish to let you know I am receiving *The Militant*. The only regret I have is that it is a weekly and doesn't come around every day. I am a prisoner and I am interested in the socialist movement.

I know that socialists are interested in the working man, but have you ever given much thought to the fact that the prisoner could be included in that category? By that I mean that in the fiscal year 1970, \$9.9-million was made in profit by the Federal Prison Industries, which is a capitalist industrial corporation.

Of this, \$5-million was given to the U.S. Treasury as a "gift," while 20,000 workers were allowed to share less than \$500,000 for their labor. Each prisoner-worker produces about \$12,000 in goods or services, according to the *Federal Prison Industries Report*, yet each prisoner makes little, some only \$5 or \$7.50 a month.

You can see the level of exploitation, which is why we need to unionize. The strikes alone have not been effective enough.

A prisoner
Missouri

P.S. Please give me the address of the Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOBUB) and its organ, *African World*.

In reply—The address for both YOBUB and *African World* is P.O. Box 20826, Greensboro, N.C. 27420.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.



National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

Squeeze on old people

The cynical disregard for humanity by capitalist politicians, especially during national election years, is nowhere so graphically demonstrated as in the much touted 20 percent increase in Social Security checks due on Oct. 3.

In most states, Social Security and railroad pensioners who must live solely on those miserable handouts (for which they paid during their working years) are granted supplemental aid in the form of state pensions, city welfare, Medicaid to cover what Medicare does not, and the right to purchase food stamps.

The state Medicaid benefits provide payment of the Medicare deductibles (the first \$50 of each annual doctor bill, the first \$68 of each hospital bill, and the 20 percent of the doctor bill not paid by Medicare the patient must pay). Medicaid also provides additional nursing-home care and buys eyeglasses, hearing aids, and prescribed drugs—all expensive medical cost carefully excluded from Medicare. This program saves the average pensioner about \$300 a year.

The right to buy food stamps saves another \$250 annually and makes possible a slightly more balanced diet.

When Congress passed a 10 percent pension increase last year, a dreadful cut in income took place. At that time those whose pensions were raised above state minimum-income requirements lost their state or city aid, which had entitled them to state Medicaid.

The furor was so great that Congress was forced to pass another bill establishing the principle of "income disregard," which stopped the states from cutting millions from state benefits. But apparently that bill was meant for only 1971. And the solons had not learned a thing. In passing the 1972 increase bill they "forgot" the "income disregard" clause necessary.

Meanwhile, in New York City the welfare department has already sent notices to all Social Security

and railroad pensioners who are also either on state old-age assistance or city welfare. The pensioners were told that they will either be cut entirely from supplemental aid, or have it cut by 20 percent.

Human Resources Administrator Jule Sugarman estimated that 14,696 persons will lose Medicaid and that 45,000 others who now get all medical bills paid by the state will have to pay 20 percent of their health-care bills.

Cuts in direct welfare checks will be exactly the same as the amount added to Social Security checks. Sugarman cites one 67-year-old Queens woman who lives alone. Her monthly welfare check will be cut from \$124.10 to \$110.50.

Meanwhile, Congress has passed the money bill necessary to pay the increased pensions—raising income taxes for both employees and employers and increasing the amount of annual earnings from which this tax will be deducted.

There are young workers to whom retirement seems light-years away, who resent high deductions from their paychecks for Social Security. It would be well for them to remember that the oldsters are still here, about 26 million of them. Others will grow old too, and join the ranks of the aged. The numbers of old people are increasing as the life span is extended. Their condition, which grows more miserable, will be the fate of today's young worker unless we can create a socialist society that takes care of its citizenry.

Many thousands of these present-day oldsters were pioneers in their youth for Social Security and unemployment benefits, thinking then that the new unions of the 1930s could force the capitalists' own government to provide for the sick, the infirm, and the aged. This government has demonstrated cynicism and neglect.

It is a shameful thing indeed that these old people have now been turned out to pasture in an economic desert.



Making do — Democratic vice-presidential nominee Sargent Shriver told reporters he spends everything he earns to support his family — "the way most Americans do." He said last year he earned \$108,600. Like most Americans, too, he rents his home. \$1,250 a month. He didn't say what his wife, the former Eunice Kennedy, does with her money.

Healthy and stealthy — Security cops at the State University of New York College at Fredonia are patrolling the campus on bicycles. The chief said it's good for their health as well as a splendid way to sneak up quietly.

A holiday in the sky? — The Commit-

tee for the Future, a group of well-heeled individuals, plans on buying an American or Soviet spacecraft for a private space probe in 1976. They may unfurl a giant moon-like reflector, according to committee spokesman Ray Bradbury. Originally, they planned Project Harvest Moon, which would have been financed by harvesting moon rocks for sale on earth. But NASA didn't have a lunar lander in adequate shape for the trip.

Afterthought — Recently we reported that as an "economy" measure, Philadelphia's Mayor Rizzo is considering consolidating schools and police stations. Big deal. We went to one year ago.

Male chauvinist moron of the week — "If a woman loses her femininity what has she got? Why is she needed? The fact that she works, that she leads the life of a man during the day-time, makes her more obligated to be feminine than ever before. Yes, obligated. Both for her own well-being and to please a man." — Designer Ferdinando Sarmi, who peddles what he calls his "naked dresses."

Lay 'em end to end — Americans consumed a record 547 billion coffin nails last year. If that number of cigarettes were put end to end, the New York Tobacco Merchants Ass'n enthusiastically calculates, it would stretch 26 million miles. They didn't estimate

how far the victims would go.

Give our regards to Broadway — a study by the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute confirmed that the New York subway system is the world's noisiest, taking first prize in the categories of "noisiest stations, trains, high-speed express runs and screeching curves." Such an unmatched record surely warrants another fare increase.

Thought for the week — "WASHINGTON — The more you earn the better your chance of a successful marriage, according to a study released Thursday by the Commerce Department." — The Sept. 22 Los Angeles Times.

The American Way of Life

White traders bleed Navajos

Two weeks ago, I wrote about the opposition of the Department of the Interior to Senator Alan Cranston's (D-Calif.) bill to grant a federal trust land base to the 19 families of the Bridgeport Indian Colony in California. Cranston compared the plight of the Indian families to that of the characters in Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* because the department had said these Indians couldn't have land since they weren't "recognized," but to be recognized they needed land.

The *Congressional Record* for Sept. 19 shows that the Senate passed Cranston's bill that day. But before granting the Bridgeport Indians 20 acres of unused land, the Senate amended the bill to reserve all mineral rights to the U. S.

A week before Cranston's bill passed, his colleague in the Senate, Barry Goldwater, was getting all worked up over something involving Indians in Arizona and Nevada. What bothered Goldwater were the hearings held in late August by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Federal Trade Commission in Window Rock, Ariz. These hearings looked into the practices of white traders who are licensed to operate on the vast Navajo reservation.

As the early autumn issue of *Akwesasne Notes*

points out in its article on the hearings, "The trader is banker, finance company, hiring agent, retail merchant, adviser, pawn broker, purchaser of wool and livestock and arts and crafts. The trader usually has no competition, with the nearest competing post 20 miles or more distant. There are no alternative sources of credit, no one else to buy rugs or jewelry."

Given the importance of the traders, it is understandable why there is concern over practices such as those described in *Akwesasne Notes*: "Peterson Zah, a deputy director for the Navajo Legal Aid Agency, DNA, described the operation of some traders who also act as postmen. He said they intercepted Indian letters containing checks, offered the unknowing customer credit, and then produced the check when the face amount had been spent on the trader's goods."

Akwesasne Notes cites one case in which a trader refused to turn over a \$150 welfare check earmarked for school clothes for a family with 11 children. It cites another case in which a concho belt worth \$225 was pawned for \$65 by an elderly Navajo and "lost" when he came to reclaim it. And the list goes on.

Goldwater, himself a former trader, was upset

Lee Smith



that the hearings painted the traders "as being the worst kind of rascals, completely devoid of any feeling for their red brothers." In fact, the senator protested, "they have, in most of the cases I know of, been, in effect, the only friends the Indians have had."

Goldwater's regard for his "red brothers" is something I had a taste of when I heard him speaking to a stadium full of people in Missoula, Mont., in the early 1960s. "If you want to see an example of how socialism works, just come on down to where I live and see the Indians," Goldwater said. "They've got socialism, and they haven't made it out of the Stone Age."

But while sticking up for the traders, Goldwater incidentally made a valid point about there being "something continually wrong with the Bureau of Indian Affairs when it cannot even get the courage to enforce the rules that have been on the books for years."

Akwesasne Notes makes the same point: "Many of the practices described by Navajo consumers are illegal under the existing Bureau of Indian Affairs regulations, which have not been enforced in anyone's recollection."

By Any Means Necessary

Bankrupt power broker

When Representative Shirley Chisholm announced at the beginning of this year that she would seek the Democratic Party presidential nomination, she put forward as her central campaign slogan, "Unbought and unbossed." She harbored no illusions about winning. Instead, she saw herself as "a catalyst that can bring together the responsive women, the struggling minorities, the poor, and the young who see in her a new hope for our system."

John Hawkins is the Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate in New York's 12th C.D. (Brooklyn).

Through a nationwide campaign that included a visit to the bedside of Governor George Wallace and the entry of her name in several Democratic Party primaries, Chisholm hoped to amass enough delegate votes to assure her a prominent role at the Democratic convention. With a large bloc of delegates committed to her candidacy, Chisholm reasoned, she would be able to play chief broker for the interests of Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed minorities, women, the poor, and youth — perhaps even deciding who the nominee would be in the event of a deadlock. However, by the time the convention opened, Chisholm had gathered

only 97 delegate votes, and George McGovern seemed certain to win the nomination on the first ballot.

Seeing the defeat of McGovern on the first ballot as the only hope for salvaging something from her unsuccessful candidacy, Chisholm made an amalgam with some of the most racist, antifemale, and anti-youth elements within the Democratic Party. Joining Wallace, Humphrey, Jackson, and Muskie in a "stop McGovern" drive, Chisholm allowed herself to be used in one of the more superficial ruses of the convention proceedings.

During one of the meetings of the caucus of Black delegates to the convention, Arnold Pinckney from Cleveland and Charles Evers from Mississippi, both supporters of Hubert Humphrey, announced that Humphrey had "released" his Black delegates to vote for Chisholm on the first ballot so she could have "real dignity." Pinckney and Evers proposed that the other delegates persuade their patrons to do likewise.

The obvious question, which some present asked, was why release only the Black delegates and why for the first ballot only? Convincing only a few delegates of the sincerity of this gesture, Chisholm's last effort to play "broker" failed. Like

Humphrey, Muskie, and the other contenders, she then joined McGovern on the convention platform for a demonstration of "party unity."

Faced now with a campaign for reelection in Brooklyn's 12th Congressional District, Chisholm is concentrating on consolidating her control of the local party machine. Commenting on the victory of her protegee Vander Beatty in a Sept. 19 special Democratic primary election for the party's state senatorial nomination, Chisholm is reported to have said: "Black officials in the area have been trying to minimize my role in spite of my national position. This vote was a warning to all of them that they must not treat Shirley Chisholm lightly and must recognize her as the titular leader in the area."

Like many supporters of Chisholm's presidential campaign who learned about the real nature of her politics during the Democratic convention, many of her supporters in Brooklyn are learning the same lesson from her local maneuvers. And many of them will draw the further conclusion that what Black people in Brooklyn need is not individual candidates who claim to be unbought and unbossed but a new party that is in fact unbought and unbossed — an independent Black party.



John Hawkins

McGovern campaign continues shift to right

By CAROLINE LUND

"McGovern has become less the shining hope of March and more the lesser evil of September."

"I don't expect much from McGovern; I think he is giving up his idealism—but he is the only choice."

"McGovern just blew it. People just don't trust him any more."

These opinions by student youth in various parts of the country were cited in recent articles in the *New York Times* and *Time* magazine as examples of growing disillusionment with George McGovern's presidential campaign.

Young people have good reason to doubt whether McGovern is essentially different from Nixon. As one student complained to the *New York Times*, McGovern has "been like any politician, going back and forth, contradicting his earlier statements. . . he's revealed himself to be a standard Type A politician, and I'm fed up with standard Type A politicians."

His backtracking to more conservative positions has been so drastic that McGovern even felt he had "Good heavens, George McGovern, is that you?"



to switch the slogan at the end of his standard television commercial. He dumped "McGovern . . . right from the start," and substituted, "McGovern . . . for the people."

Where does McGovern now stand on the major issues?

Vietnam war

On August 22 McGovern visited Lyndon Johnson to curry his favor and get his endorsement. McGovern told this war criminal—who was responsible for major escalation of the war—that he would have supported LBJ if the latter had run for reelection in 1968. McGovern used the occasion to apologize for Johnson's conduct of the war, saying that "he [LBJ] inherited that war. He didn't start it. He gave up his chance for reelection in an effort to end it." (As quoted by Tom Wicker in the Sept. 24 *New York Times*.)

War spending

On Sept. 21 McGovern adopted what the *Wall Street Journal* called a more "flexible" military spending proposal. McGovern's new stand advocates a "significant" cut in military spending, without, however, indicating how much should be cut.

Earlier, McGovern had projected cutting the military budget by \$30-billion, down to \$55-billion. Then he retreated to say that only \$10-billion should be cut each year. Now his war spending proposal mentions no figure at all. In presenting the new proposal, McGovern's "national security" advisors stated that it would "keep American military strength second to none."

Middle East

Following the Munich kidnapping incident, McGovern joined right in on the campaign of anti-Arab hysteria. He labeled the Arab guerrillas—who were ready to sacrifice their lives for the Palestinian struggle—"international gangsters," and called for an end to U.S. diplomatic relations with Egypt until that country acted to destroy the guerrilla groups there.

As columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak noted Sept. 9, this was a position that "Presi-

dent Nixon cannot match."

McGovern's attempts to outdo Nixon as a defender of the Zionist state of Israel and an opponent of the Arab liberation movement show that he would readily embark on another Vietnam war in the Middle East.

Wage controls

McGovern declared his support for a system of partially voluntary, partially enforced "wage-price controls" on Sept. 15. This is no more a solution to inflation than Nixon's present controls. It is simply another method of attempting to hold down wages. Like Nixon, McGovern refuses to support the right of working people to automatic wage increases to keep up with the cost of living.

Unemployment

McGovern has announced that his goal is to reduce unemployment rolls to four million. Apparently he thinks that's the best that can be done under this capitalist system—four million working people and their families condemned to the misery and indignity of unemployment!

Church and state

On Sept. 19 in a speech at a Chicago Catholic boys school, McGovern went even farther than Nixon in endorsing the concept of public aid to private schools. He proposed federal tax credits for parents who send their children to private schools.

McGovern proposes that public tax money be allocated to supporting religious and other private schools while the public school system—in which 90 percent of children are enrolled—is confronted with fiscal crises all across the country.

Quotas

Just like Nixon, McGovern has come out against using quota systems to make up for the years of discriminatory treatment of Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities in jobs and education. According to the Aug. 19 *New York Times*, McGovern stated, in response to an inquiry from the American Jewish Committee, that quotas in hiring and education are "detrimental to American society."

Chicanos

When Ricardo Falcón, a young Chicano on his way to the Raza Unida Party national convention in El Paso, Texas, was killed by a gas station owner, McGovern issued a statement calling the killing "a senseless act of insanity." In a matter of days, however, he held a news conference to retract this statement. According to Paul Wiecek from the *New Republic*, who was with McGovern in New Mexico, McGovern explained away the earlier statement by saying a staff member made it without his knowledge.

Abortion

The Sept. 25 *New York Times* reported on a speech by McGovern in South Dakota in which he declared that "Mr. Nixon and I would do precisely the same" on the abortion issue, "and that's exactly nothing" to change the state anti-abortion laws.

While young people are being turned off by McGovern's dishonesty and vacillation, sections of the ruling class are beginning to come to the conclusion that he might be their best bet after all. On Sept. 28 McGovern won the editorial endorsement of the *New York Times*, which has wide influence in business and financial circles and among procapitalist political figures. This mouthpiece for a section of the ruling rich sees that McGovern is indeed no "radical," but that his radical-sounding verbiage and promises (which can later be retracted) can be useful in lulling popular discontent and in co-opting the antiwar movement and other struggles for social change.

A reporter for *U.S. News and World Report* asked a Democratic Party "strategist" whether it wasn't dangerous for McGovern to risk alienating his young supporters by retreating on too many issues. The answer was, "Where can they go?"

But young people, working people, women, Blacks, and others do have an alternative to supporting McGovern and Sargent Shriver. They can have far more impact if they work for, and cast a vote for, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party.

Gus Hall's complaint

By DOUG JENNESS

If you've ever heard a Communist Party speaker you know that it's useful to have a special dictionary along to translate the speech. Simple words and phrases mean something different to them than to most of us. For example, "independent political action" means supporting the Democratic Party; "people's coalition" means trying to get antiwar activists, unionists, Blacks, etc., to support the Democratic Party; and "dump Nixon" means electing McGovern, not getting the vote out for CP presidential candidate Gus Hall.

So last week as I read a report in the Sept. 23 *Daily World* of a speech that Gus Hall gave to a small group of supporters in New Jersey, my mind was all geared up for the double meanings, half-truths, and camouflages. Then, suddenly I ran into a paragraph that nearly jolted me out of my chair. It had some straightforward truth in it. I rubbed my eyes and read it a second time.

Hall was talking about his visit to Philadelphia earlier in the week when both he and Sargent Shriver were there. According to Hall's account, the mass media ignored Shriver and paid more attention to him. "We convinced people," Hall boasted. "We won people away from Nixon. We actually won more votes for McGovern than Shriver did" (emphasis added).

Hall may lack modesty, but he has certainly stated the aim of the CP's election campaign accurately—turn out the vote for George McGovern.

Why such candor? It's certainly out of form for the CP's general secretary. Could it be that he's trying to dispel any lingering doubts among CP members that he is taking his own campaign too seriously? Whatever the reason, he's done everybody who may have been confused about where the CP really stands on the elections a great service.

But Hall wasn't very happy when he made this speech. In fact he was complaining. Despite all the legwork, stamp licking, mimeographing, doorbell ringing, and agitating for McGovern that CP activists are doing, McGovern still keeps backtracking. "You can't stop Nixon and his reactionary blitzkrieg by retreating," Hall whines.

Hall isn't the only one who's bellyaching. Out on the West Coast one of his colleagues, Judy Baston, writes in the Sept. 23 *People's World* that many of the basic weaknesses of the McGovern campaign "flow from a lack of class approach by the candidate and his staff."

Now that's one to send them rolling in the aisles down on Wall Street. If Baston means that McGovern isn't taking the side of the working class she's absolutely right, as anyone who has heard about McGovern's wage control schemes can testify.

But how can she deny that McGovern is not taking a class approach when he is clearly on the side of big business and high finance? Even the influential *New York Times* is behind McGovern, and no one could ever accuse them of not knowing where their class interests lie.

But despite all their whining about McGovern, both Hall and Baston continue to beat the drums for him.



What strategy for Raza U

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

The national convention of Raza Unida parties that met in El Paso, Texas, Sept. 1-4 overwhelmingly approved a strategy of opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties, refusing to support either McGovern or Nixon in the 1972 presidential elections.

Yet the two opposing perspectives that emerged prior to the convention—those of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and José Angel Gutiérrez—were not fully discussed. This lack of political clarity was evident in the election of a chairman for the *Congreso de Aztlán*, an executive coordinating body of three representatives from each state set up by the convention. Both Gonzales, a leader of the Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party, and Gutiérrez, a founder of the Texas Raza Unida Party, were nominated for the post.

During his acceptance speech, Gonzales presented what he considered to be the key issue before the convention: the complete independence of La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) from the two capitalist parties and no support

possibly by 'write-in' campaign; c) adopting a 'balance of power' strategy between the two major parties for the 'maximum feasible benefits' to La Raza from the man who hopes to become President. (This doesn't necessarily mean endorsing anyone)." [First emphasis added.]

The newsletter article opted for the third alternative and quoted some of José Angel Gutiérrez's views. However, no one from the Texas delegation, including Gutiérrez, advocated this strategy when they spoke at the convention.

'Balance of power'

Gutiérrez first elaborated the "balance of power" strategy in an open letter to the National Chicano Political Caucus held April 22-23, 1972, in San Jose, Calif. His letter was subsequently published in the May 26 issue of *La Gente*, a Chicano student newspaper at the University of California in Los Angeles.

Gutiérrez's outlook was based on studies reported earlier this year indicating that a shift of only 5 per-

cent to keep white America divided evenly between Democrats and Republicans. And, we need to *shift our bloc of votes from election to election* as needed for the maximum, feasible benefit." (Emphasis added.)

He then adds, "To Nixon we say, 'Show us how badly you want our vote. How about 2 Chicano federal bank charters for every state that has at least 10,000 Chicanos? How about 100 million dollars in government contracts for Chicano economic enterprises every year? How about 2 fully funded Chicano Universities in every Southwestern state plus Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio? How about 10 million acres of federal land in occupied Aztlán? How about 2 Chicanos at the decision-making and money spending levels of every national and regional federal agency? How about 30 million dollars annually for migrant and farmworker resettlement and retraining? How about full citizenship rights for un-naturalized residents of 5 years or more? This is only a partial list of requests—just for starters."

"To the Democratic challenger we

small and scattered Raza Unida Party formations, can count on decisively influencing the Chicano vote.

The problem facing the various Raza Unida parties today is not how to *dispose* of so many millions of votes *but how we are going to go about winning* the allegiance and support of the masses of our people *away from* the Democratic Party and the illusion that McGovern "está con el pueblo" [is for the people], as his propaganda says.

Despite the fact that the National Raza Unida Party convention in El Paso voted to support neither McGovern nor Nixon, the vast majority of our people will vote for one or the other. Why? Because they still have illusions in the two-party system. Because they still believe in the false promises of gringo and Chicano capitalist politicians. Our task is to break those illusions by clearly stating, as did Corky Gonzales in his keynote address to the El Paso convention, that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans will end our oppression.

Gutiérrez also "guarantees" us "that once the bottom part of the Chicano political glacier is revealed in terms of votes, both parties will be on hands and knees for our votes." To a people who have been precisely on their hands and knees before Democratic and Republican administrations for years, this sounds like a rather good turn of events—at least worth trying. But will it work?

Common interests

Such a view assumes that there is a fundamental difference of interests between Republicans and Democrats that would make them willing to cut each other's throats for the votes of La Raza. This is not the case, however. The actual concurrence of interests between the Democrats and Republicans was well described in the *Plan de Aztlán* when it referred to them as "one animal with two heads that feed from the same trough."

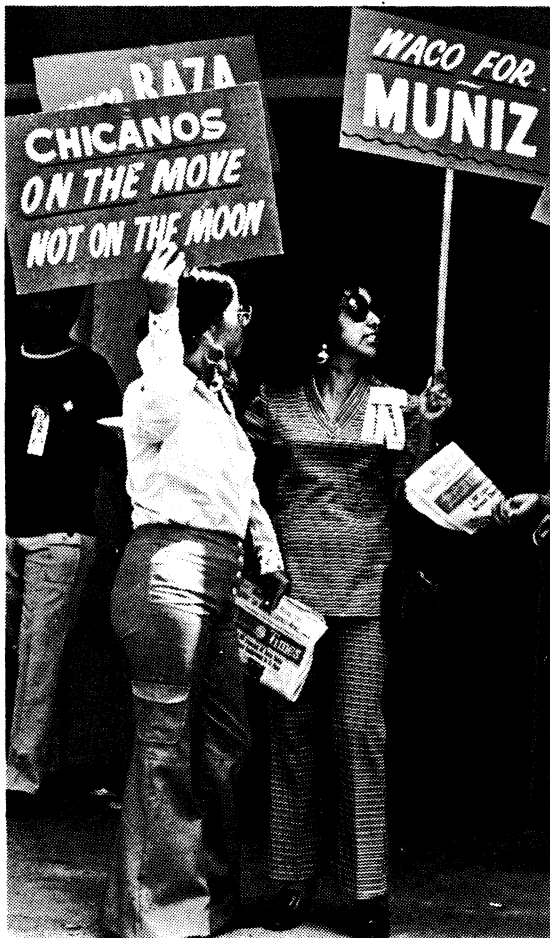
This is not just a poetic image but a very accurate description of the two capitalist parties. Both are committed to the preservation of U.S. capitalism and its imperialist interests around the world.

They differ only on how *best* to exploit the peoples of the world, on how *best* to maintain the capitalist ruling class in power, and how *best* to keep the masses of Chicanos, Blacks, Native Americans, other oppressed nationalities, women, and all working people under the illusion that the racist corporate rulers rule in our interests. We can expect that in the face of a massive independent Chicano political party the Democrats and Republicans will *get together* to deal with this common enemy.

The capitalist ruling class—those who own and control the factories, the fields, and every institution in this country from the schools to the church—understand that to maintain the illusion that there is democracy and that we "freely" vote for the president of our choice, there must be *two* parties, at least. Very elementary, but true.

That is why when there is a Democratic majority in a state assembly, the Democrats usually do not restrict Republicans into a position where they will have tremendous difficulty winning another election. Instead they *cooperate* with their Republican "opponents" with the knowledge that when a Republican majority rules, they will treat the Democrats with the same consideration *in the interest of maintaining the two-party system*.

They do, of course, get together to



Militant/Harry Ring



Militant/Harry Ring

National Raza Unida Party convention Sept. 1-4 refused to support either Nixon or McGovern and decided to remain independent of both capitalist parties. Ramsey Muniz is the RUP candidate for governor of Texas.

to Nixon or McGovern in the 1972 elections. He had presented the same view in his keynote speech earlier in the convention.

Gutiérrez did not discuss his "balance of power" position of possible support to Nixon or McGovern either during his keynote address or his acceptance speech. Thus he succeeded to a large extent in keeping the election of chairman for the *congreso* on the level of personalities and who had organized the most delegations.

Although Gutiérrez won the vote, many delegates supporting him were unfamiliar with his "balance of power" views. It becomes important, therefore, to review that strategy.

A newsletter distributed by the Texas delegates at the National Raza Unida Party convention listed what they considered to be "the most crucial issues facing the convention": (a) refusing to endorse either party's presidential candidate; b) running a Presidential candidate under the Raza Unida Party,

cent in the Chicano vote in the states of Illinois, New Mexico, Texas, and California could determine the outcome of the 1972 presidential elections. The margin of difference between Republican and Democratic presidential candidates in these states during the past 10 years has been less than the total number of Chicano votes in each state. Thus a small shift in Chicano votes could conceivably throw the 101 electoral votes of those states to either of the two major capitalist parties.

Basing himself on this fact, Gutiérrez then outlined four objectives for the Raza Unida Party: "1) become the national balance of power 2) win local elections where we are the majority 3) defeat, in local elections, our enemies 4) change the U.S. of A. to fit our needs and expectations and the needs and expectations of other oppressed peoples."

To accomplish the first objective, Gutiérrez states in his letter, "We need

intend to say the same and much more."

Gutiérrez then presents the alternatives for La Raza in the 1972 elections: "We can vote for the Democrat or the Republican Presidential candidates if they cooperate or vote for ourselves locally and forget about the President."

How can we get either of the capitalist candidates to "cooperate" with La Raza Unida Party? Gutiérrez replies, "In 1972, because we do not have a Presidential candidate, the Chicano Raza Unida Party will be the balance of power."

The reality, however, is that no single individual or organization—including the Raza Unida Party—presently has the kind of mass following that would be necessary to influence the votes of millions of Chicanos, Latinos, or Puerto Ricans. Not even the Democratic Party, which has an apparatus many times greater and more powerful than that of the still very

nida parties?



Militant/Dave Warren
Jose Angel Gutierrez



Militant/Dave Warren
Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzales

eliminate or change the districts of dissident Democrats, for example. They also gerrymander Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans into districts with a majority of whites so that the oppressed nationalities cannot easily take control of those major U.S. cities or districts where they constitute a majority.

Rather than get on their hands and knees, the two capitalist parties would do everything in their power to destroy a mass independent Chicano political party. And we can expect them to use both concessions and repression in their attempt to accomplish such a goal.

The future viability of the developing Raza Unida parties will be determined by the resistance of their leaders to attempts by the ruling class to buy them off with promises of concessions—such as McGovern is attempting—and by their ability to establish deep roots among the masses of La Raza, which will make it more difficult and politically costly for the ruling class to carry out acts of repression.

Chicano Democrats

Gutiérrez's outlook, however, goes even further in weakening the independent character of the Raza Unida parties. In his open letter he asks, "What of Chicano Democrats? Do we vote for them?" He then correctly answers, "If you want to continue the practice of tokenism—yes. If you want to continue the practice of white control over Chicano politicians—yes." But then, in contradiction to this, he adds, "... serve notice on our Chicano politicians that *only this time around will they get our vote*, by splitting our ticket in November." [Emphasis added.]

First of all, they are not *our* Chicano politicians. They are *their* Chicano politicians. That is what being in the Democratic Party means. A good example is Bexar County (Texas) Commissioner Albert Peña, a self-styled "independent Kennedy Democrat." Peña boycotted the Texas state convention of the Democratic Party because it didn't comply with the McGovern recommendations on party reform. He declared his "independence" from the state organization while remaining loyal to the national party. He also expressed sympathy toward the Texas Raza Unida Party.

The "independent" rhetoric of long-time Democrat Peña—who was merely expressing his support to the McGovern-Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party—led many RUP activists and leaders to consider him an ally who should not be opposed in the primaries and who should, in essence, be given backhanded support.

But Peña, after losing in the primaries, did not break with the Democratic Party—as some expected—and run on the Raza Unida Party

ticket. Instead he reaffirmed his loyalty to the Democratic Party and is now heading the McGovern campaign's "Latino Caucus," together with Puerto Rican Congressman Herman Badillo (D-N. Y.).

Liberals like Peña who believe that social reform for La Raza and all working people can be won through the Democratic Party are not the allies of the Chicano masses. Instead they help maintain the illusion that the capitalist two-party system is a viable institution for the oppressed.

The Peñas, Bernals, and Mondragóns of the Democratic Party know what they're doing. Don't wait for them to sell out. They sold out by joining and becoming candidates of the racist procapitalist Democratic Party. Voting for them "one more time" will convince them of nothing except that they have taken us in "one more time."

As is being done in many state and local races, we should, where possible, run Raza Unida Party candidates *against* them. This would clearly show La Raza that the issue is not merely Chicanos against gringos but the building of an *independent* mass political party of La Raza, *in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties*—the parties responsible for our oppression—and *their candidates*, be they Anglo, Black, or Chicano.

The struggle before us is for the minds of the masses of our people and all oppressed peoples in this country. The more we win our people to an independent position in opposition to both capitalist parties, the more these two parties will be forced to make concessions, including the demand raised by Gutiérrez, to combat our influence.

It is only by organizing and mobilizing the masses of our people independently—both in the streets and in the voting booth—that we pose a threat to the racist rulers of this country. We win nothing by maintaining myths and illusions about the Democratic Party or its liberal capitalist politicians such as the Kennedys, McGovern, Peñas, or Alatorres. We can only move forward in our struggle for liberation by breaking down those illusions.

If any Raza Unida Party were to call for support to the Democratic Party in the presidential elections, the masses of our people would fail to see the distinction between working for McGovern as a Democrat or as a member of Raza Unida. How could we say to them, "The Democrats are racists and our enemies, but vote for McGovern anyway because he promised us all sorts of things and we can probably trust him, or at least 'keep him honest' by supporting him"? If we can trust McGovern, or Peña, or Nixon, then we don't need our own independent party.

Gonzales: 'No compromise to any other party or any other candidate'

The following are excerpts from the keynote speech by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales at the National Raza Unida Party Convention at El Paso, Texas, Sept. 1-4.

The Chicano movement some years ago was considered an impossible dream. La Raza Unida was considered an impossible dream. And this is a historic day for everyone who is here. And maybe everybody's name will not go down in the history books, but you've taken part in creating history.

The Chicano movement, its concept and philosophy of self-determination... cannot be prostituted by politics, although politics can be incorporated into the Chicano movement. And La Raza Unida is that vehicle that can bring forth all the leadership, all the thoughts, all the feelings, and also attack all the issues that would change the lives for all of our people—the masses of our people who may not be here but whom you represent: those who never go into conferences; those who are in prison; those who are on street corners; those people and young men who are in the barrios, the campos, and ranchitos....

We came here as an independent party, and our wishes are that when we leave we leave as a united independent party....

Most of the states—particularly ours, which I can speak for—have taken a position of no compromise to any other party or any other candidate.... We cannot negotiate from a position of weakness for anything that we want for our people. We have to organize ourselves into a position of strength. La Raza Unida is born nationally. La Raza Unida then must become independent and concerned with the very, very sensitive needs of our own people based on the past performances of the two-party system.

To negotiate with Nixon is to negotiate with Spiro Agnew, with Laird, with all of the generals in the Pentagon, with the industrialists and corporate structure.... And then we have to look at the other party and look at McGovern, who comes into a candidacy, into a nomination, arm in arm with Richard Daley, the pig from Chicago, while giving more power to a racist, white Southern bigot [George Wallace]....

Promises can be made, but promises are hard to keep when you don't control a Senate or a Congress. We've had promises made before. In either case the Chicano has come out on the short end. In either case, the only results that have come for the Chicano community have come from our reaction, have come from the marches and the struggles and the pickets, have come from the demonstrations, have come from the blood of our martyrs, have come from the cries and screams of our children who dared to face the man while the *intelectuales* sat in a back room waiting to come in to be the carpetbaggers to pick up the program money....

So we say, there is a monster with two heads that eats from the same trough. Nixon appointed your famous [former Democratic Texas] Governor Connally to a position of power within his cabinet, within his establishment. McGovern comes in with Shriver, who for a year and a half served a Republican president... and today carries the banner of the Democratic Party two years after he resigns.... [Johnson appointed Shriver ambassador to France in 1968, a post he held until the spring of 1970 under the Nixon administration.]

We cannot afford contradictions. The *mexicano*, the Chicano, has been confused so often, has been used so often, and continues to be used because they use nationalism against us to get us to vote. One gringo puts on a sarape and *mexicanos* say, "Ay, mira, parece Chicano, parece mexicano y esta comiendo tacos" [Look, he's like a Chicano, a *mexicano*, and he's eating tacos], and we vote for him. Everywhere across the country there are "amigos" of every gringo politician in the two-party system....

We have representative leadership from across this nation that can sit on a *congreso* [coordinating executive body for the Raza Unida Party set up by the National Raza Unida Party Convention] that relates to every element and level of the Chicano movement. That means that it will be related to politics, to economics, social struggles, unionization, the struggle for the lands, the tremendous battle for community control in every barrio that we exist in. It can be done. Politicos in the two-party system cannot provide that.

Response to Newsweek's distortions and smears

Mandel on terrorism

The Sept. 29 *Militant* reported on an article in the Sept. 18 issue of *Newsweek* called "The Terrorist International," which contained distortions of the views of Ernest Mandel and of the Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International. We noted that this article was part of an attempt by the U.S. government to use the pretext of the incident at the Olympics to crack down on the Arab liberation movement and the entire radical movement. To aid in this effort, *Newsweek* tried to link together terrorist groups with other organizations on the left.

The following is the text of a letter dated Sept. 14 sent by Ernest Mandel from Brussels to the editors of *Newsweek* in New York.

In your Sept. 18, 1972, issue you devote two whole paragraphs on page 34 to the movement I am part of, the Fourth International, and to myself. The only trouble with these paragraphs is that they do not contain a single word of truth.

The Fourth International was not founded two years ago in Brussels, but thirty-four years ago in Paris. It is not a terrorist organization but has always rejected the philosophy and methods of terrorism, opposed to the Marxist principles it stands for. The Brussels conference* issued no call to "shoot" on any scale. More modestly, it tried to coordinate the struggle of radical workers, students and intellectuals against the take-over of Europe by a few hundred multinational corporations, either American or European. The call it issued was for a Socialist United States of Europe, based upon social ownership of the means of production administered not by any top-heavy bureaucracy or state apparatus, but by democratically elected councils of producers, under a multiparty system.

The sentence you attribute to me, reproduced between quotation marks, was never spoken by me, neither at that conference nor anywhere else. On the contrary, foreseeing this type of misrepresentation, I explicitly stated in my conference report that we do not fight by means of dynamite, bombs or the like.

Your attempt to picture us as a "Terrorist International" can therefore only be characterized as a total distortion of the truth.

Equally scandalous is the assertion that "Trotskyites see themselves as the catalysts provoking governments into ever harsher repressive measures. This, they believe, will encourage Fascism and, in turn, produce more radical fanatics and more cracks in established society."

Anybody doing his elementary homework before writing an article could easily have found out that one of the great intellectual and political achievements of Leon Trotsky was that he understood — nearly alone — as early as 1930 the mortal threat fascism represented to the German people. He desperately sought to unite Communists, Social Democrats, and unionists by the millions — and not

just a few "fanatics" — to prevent a fascist take-over of that key country. His followers ever since have acted in the same spirit, and are rightly considered by fascists the world over as their most implacable enemies. To accuse such a movement of deliberately wanting to "provoke" the development of fascism is again a complete and unadulterated lie.

It is true that in addition to its above-mentioned basic goals, the Fourth International firmly supports, in a spirit of solidarity with all victims of oppression and exploitation, popular mass resistance movements against oppressors, even if the rulers of these countries leave them no other avenue open for struggle but armed struggle. A similar position of support to such movements, e.g., in the Portuguese colonies, has recently been adopted by the World Council of Churches and the Swedish Social Democracy. You don't taint them with the brush of being "terrorist organizations" for that support. There is no reason to taint us with that brush either.

As a matter of fact, even the editors of *Newsweek* fully identify with at least one armed resistance movement against oppression, called the American War of Independence. Have they therefore adopted the philosophy of terrorism? It would also be interesting to know how they characterize the resistance movements which sprang up all through Europe against Nazi oppression, e.g., the Warsaw ghetto uprising. To my knowledge, there is only one movement which slandered these heroes as being "bandits" and "criminals": the movement of Hitler and his henchmen.

Nobody should be surprised that terrorists who happen to wield state power and, in that position, pursue their political goals by murdering thousands of innocent people — Hitler was only the most extreme example of them, and by no means the only one — call their opponents "criminal terrorists." The political function of this linguistic trick is obviously to facilitate and justify in advance mass repression, mass persecution, mass torture and, if necessary, mass killing of political opponents.

In the 1870s, an obscure terrorist made an attempt upon the life of the German Emperor William I; Bismarck used the occasion to outlaw the Social Democracy for fifteen years. In 1934, the no less obscure Nikolaev murdered the local boss of Leningrad, Kirov; Stalin used that occasion to arrest, and subsequently murder, practically all his political opponents in the Communist movement of the USSR. Neither the German Social Democrats nor the Soviet Trotskyists had actually committed a single act of violence against the regimes of Emperor William I or Joseph Stalin. They were convinced that they could best further their goals under the circumstances through mass education, mass organization, and mass struggle of the working class. This, those terrorist rulers feared much more than desperate and inefficient acts of individual terrorism. Therefore they used the first occasion to suppress these political opposition movements under the pretext of "fighting terrorism."

Today, especially since May 1968, the Fourth International enjoys growing influence among revolutionary youth and workers in many countries. It tries to centralize their generous ef-

forts at social change towards concrete and realizable political goals. This is seen by the rulers as a threat against their rule. So they attempt to organize a growing repression against us. For that purpose, a frame-up on the occasion of some terrorist incident is a welcome opportunity.

Police informers and other professionals in the noble art of curtailing freedom of thought, speech, organization, and travel the world over are experts in this type of frame-up. They cannot understand this simple truth: that society can only be changed through the efforts of millions, of broad social forces, and that it is ridiculous to attribute to Marxists the wish to "conspire" and to build socialism without the conscious resolution of the majority of the toilers. This is typical of the police or James Bond-type mind. But it is a disgrace to free journalism that newspapermen cooperate in such endeavors, deliberately or through sheer ignorance.

Yemen statement

The following is the text of a news release from the Permanent Mission of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen that documents a distortion by *Newsweek* about a Black September leader in Europe.

In its current issue, Sept. 18, 1972, under the article "The Terrorist International," *Newsweek's* Senior Editor Arnaud de Borchgrave reported the following:

"The current head of Black September's organization in Western Europe is Daoud Barakat, who is now installed big as life in Switzerland as a diplomat from Democratic Yemen fully accredited to the offices of the United Nations and other international organizations in Geneva. Barakat has helped to plan some of Black September's most spectacular capers and is a prime suspect as a mastermind behind the Munich massacre. Yet, armed with a diplomatic passport issued by the Democratic Yemen Government in Aden, he can commute between Geneva and the Middle East with casual ease."

Answering a question about the aforementioned report of *Newsweek*, Mr. William Powell, an official spokesman of the Secretary General of the United Nations, said that Democratic Yemen had no Permanent Mission in Geneva and the man mentioned in the article was not a member of the Democratic Yemen Mission in Geneva or at Headquarters.

The Permanent Mission of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to the United Nations fully acknowledges the authenticity of the statement of the spokesman of the Secretary General. The unfounded and maliciously fabricated report of *Newsweek* is purely an act of misinformation, distortion and instigation against Arab diplomats accredited to the United Nations.

At a time when the biased Zionist-oriented media of information incites vengeance against Arab diplomats, *Newsweek* is hysterically scrambling to locate scapegoats.

Gromyko labels Arab fighters 'criminal'

By TONY THOMAS

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko delivered a speech to the United Nations General Assembly on Sept. 26 that touched on the questions of "terrorism" raised by the Munich killings. This was part of a discussion of a U.S.-sponsored treaty on "terrorism" aimed at liberation fighters throughout the world, particularly Arab and African guerrilla fighters.

As the representative of the most powerful workers state, Gromyko might have been expected to denounce the U.S.-Israeli "antiterror" campaign as an imperialist attack on the interests of the Soviet Union and oppressed people throughout the world.

Gromyko, who claims to speak for socialism, should have been expected



Oppressive conditions in refugee camps have driven some Palestinians to terrorist tactics. Gromyko calls them 'criminals.'

to defend all Palestinian resistance fighters, including the Black September group and other terrorists, when they are under attack from Zionism and imperialism. In particular, it is the elementary duty of all socialists to defend them against U.S. imperialism's "antiterrorist" treaty and the mobilization of the UN behind it.

Unfortunately Gromyko took another course. He denounced the militants of Black September as criminals.

The Sept. 27 *New York Times* quoted Gromyko as telling the General Assembly that Black September's "criminal actions deal a blow at the national interests and aspirations of the Palestinians." Despite his "sympathy" with the Palestinian struggle, Gromyko left no doubt in his comments that he was not in the least opposed to these "criminals" being "brought to justice" by the West Germans.

And although the Soviet government made statements opposing the Israeli attacks on Lebanon and Syria

Continued on page 22

* The reference is to a congress of European Trotskyist groups held in Brussels in November 1970 at which Ernest Mandel gave a report.

World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, a newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

OCTOBER 13, 1972

Canada

Quebec socialist runs in federal elections

[The following article is reprinted from the Sept. 25 issue of *Labor Challenge*, published by the revolutionary socialist movement in Canada. Those who wish to follow the Montréal election campaign of Alain Beiner can subscribe to the French-language monthly *Libération*, B.P. 641, Succ. "N", Montréal 129, Québec. Send \$1 for eight issues.]

By Phil Courneyeur

SEPT. 18—The Montréal branch of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) nominated a candidate last night to run in the Oct. 30 federal elections.

Alain Beiner, Québec national secretary of the LSO, will run in the Lafontaine riding [election district] in Montréal's east end. The LSO is the Québec wing of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the cross-Canada Trotskyist organization.

"The electors in the Montréal-Lafontaine riding will have the opportunity on Oct. 30 to speak out against Trudeau's federalism and his theme 'The Integrity of Canada,'" an LSO press release declared, pointing out that Beiner was the "first independentist candidate officially nominated in the federal elections."

The LSO supports the struggle for an independent and French Québec and will make that theme central to its electoral platform.

Alain Beiner, until recently the editor of the Québécois Trotskyist paper *Libération*, is 25 years old, originally from Montréal. Before his work in the leadership of the LSO, Beiner worked as a mechanic in Montréal. He is presently the vice-president of the Front Commun pour la Défense de la Langue Française (FCDLF—Common Front for the Defense of the French Language), which has organized several large demonstrations in Montréal and is waging a campaign against the notorious Bill 63 language law in Québec.

At his nominating convention, Beiner characterized the Canadian Confederation as "a prison house for the Québécois." "The oppression of our nation," Beiner stated, "enables Canadian millionaires to rake off superprofits from Québec, seizing our resources and paying us cheap wages, maintaining high rates of unemployment and destroying our language.

This national oppression constitutes an indispensable part of capitalist rule in Canada," Beiner explained.

While the thrust of the campaign will be support for independence and the defense of the French language, the platform will address itself to a range of problems suffered by the working class and various oppressed layers. Beiner cited unemployment and inflation, the Indochina war and Canada's complicity, discrimination against women, and problems faced by students as key issues that the LSO will take up.

"The LSO intends to wage a widespread publicity campaign against federalism; we intend to intervene energetically in the election meetings of the Liberal, Conservative and Créditiste candidates, challenging them to debate the issues. We will utilize the election to organize mass actions such as the street demonstration a few days

before the election to mobilize Québécois independentists against federalism," Beiner stated.

The LSO, still a relatively small organization of revolutionary socialists, will intervene in the election campaign with the call for the Québec trade union federations to break from capitalist politics and launch a mass labor party. The LSO is entering the election in order to put forward a program for the national emancipation of the Québec nation and a working-class political strategy to win Québec's liberation.

There is no mass labor party in Québec. While the Québec NDP [New Democratic Party—Canada's labor party] enjoys the formal support of the Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (FTQ—Québec Federation of Labor), the other two main labor federations—the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN—Confedera-

tion of National Trade Unions) and the Corporation des Enseignants Québécois (CEQ—Québec Teachers Corporation) do not support the NDP. The NDP retains some residual support among advanced workers, but its roots in Québec have been weakened by the big growth of the Parti Québécois.

The P.Q. is a capitalist party which has won mass support in Québec campaigning for "independence" (sovereignty-association) along with demagogic calls for social and economic reforms. It stands as a block to the real interests of the Québécois masses, which can only be satisfied by a government based on the workers and farmers of Québec.

The NDP in Québec—which might have developed into a mass labor party—cut itself off from that possibility with its crass profederalist program. Even the recent Québec NDP decision to declare its support for Québec's right to self-determination met with a hostile public attack from [NDP leader] David Lewis, who pledged the federal NDP to fight for "Canadian unity."

While the Québec NDP is not a labor party, it is nevertheless a significant tendency in the Québec workers movement. It is an extension of the Canadian labor party into Québec. The NDP campaign, like the LSO campaign, projects working class political action independent from the boss parties.

Alain Beiner stated in his nominating meeting that the LSO campaign would extend critical support to NDP candidates in other ridings. "An NDP government in Ottawa, based on English Canadian workers, would mean important economic and social reforms, and perhaps even national reforms," he pointed out. "Such a victory of the Canadian labor party would constitute an example and inspiration for Québec workers, showing the road to effective political action through the launching of a labor party by the Québec union federations."

At the same time, Beiner stressed that LSO support for NDP candidates would be critical, with the LSO advancing its own program in contradistinction to that of the NDP, above all on the question of independence. In the riding of Montréal-Lafontaine both the LSO and the NDP have fielded candidates. □



Socialist candidate Alain Beiner addresses demonstration of 5,000 for Quebec independence July 1, 1971.

Labor Challenge

The revolutionary socialist movement in Denmark

[The following interview with representatives of the Danish Trotskyist organization Revolutionær Socialistisk Forbund (RSF—Revolutionary Socialist League) appeared in the September 23 issue of the French weekly *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Rouge. What is the current situation in Denmark?

RSF. At the moment, a lively debate is going on over the entry of Denmark into the Common Market. In the fall of 1971, the government was forced by popular pressure to announce plans for a referendum, which is scheduled to take place on October 2. Throughout the past year, political activity has centered around the question of the Common Market.

The Social-Democratic government and the trade-union bureaucrats, together with the bourgeoisie, have come out in favor of Denmark entering the Common Market, although for the most part the working class is opposed. A preliminary vote in a hundred big plants (among them the shipyards) revealed a very strong opposition—80% against, 10% for, and 10% no opinion.

Rouge. What is the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the working-class parties?

RSF. For years there was a balance in the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the working-class parties. Now we have a Social-Democratic government. The majority in parliament belongs to the Social-Democratic party along with the left-wing reformist party, the SF [Socialistisk Folkeparti—People's Socialist party].

In Denmark, the workers' movement has always been under the hegemony of the Social Democracy. This is the case with the unions, to which 95% of the workers belong. As for the other working-class parties, only the SF has any strength or influence in the working class. The SF was formed by Aksel Larsen following a split in the Danish Communist party in 1958. Today the only difference between the SF and the Social Democracy is over foreign policy and the question of national defense: It is against the entry of Denmark into the Common Market and against NATO.

Rouge. Aside from yours, what are the leftist groups in Denmark today?

RSF. First of all, there is the Danish CP (the pro-Moscow Stalinists), which has become totally isolated since the 1958 split. Today it enjoys only a very limited influence in the trade-union bureaucracy.

Then the VS [Venstresocialisterne—Left Socialists], a left-centrist party that was formed in 1968 when the left wing of the SF split. This party is in a state of decline, with no more than 600 or 700 members. It contains several factions, each of which follows its own line. At the moment, the party's leadership is in the hands of the "Leninist faction." Even in this faction, there are two tendencies with opposing views on the class character of the Eastern European countries: One takes up the analyses and views of the Fourth International, and another defends the state-capitalist analysis. At its next convention, in December 1972, the VS will undoubtedly split into at least two organizations.

Aside from the Danish CP, the VS, and the RSF (Danish section of the

Fourth International), there are only some very small groups with practically no weight.

Rouge. Aren't there any Maoist groups in Denmark?

RSF. The Maoist movement has never managed to get a foothold in Denmark. One reason is that a Trotskyist organization was formed as early as the thirties. The other reason is that as soon as the Maoists appeared they were engaged in polemical debates, in which they were defeated on a theoretical and political level. Today they exist as only small splinter groups defending Chinese policy—which is becoming more and more difficult.

Rouge. Can you tell us about the history of the Danish section of the International?

RSF. A Trotskyist organization was founded in Denmark in 1932. It was created by German communist refugees, Georg Jungclas in particular. These comrades took part in the resistance to the German occupation of the country. The first illegal newspaper put out by the resisters was a Trotskyist paper. During the postwar period and the period of the cold war, there was only a very small group. Then, during the Algerian war, the Danish section, like the other European sections, became very heavily involved in aiding the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale—National Liberation Front].

The section, RS [Revolutionære Socialister—Revolutionary Socialists], then carried out entry work in the SF and its youth organization, the SUF [Socialistisk Ungdoms Forbund

—Socialist Youth League], until 1968, when the section took part in the formation of the VS. The main results of entry work were felt in the SUF, where we gained hegemony. This is why it was decided (at the twelfth congress of the SUF in January 1970) to merge the RS and the SUF at the same time that it was decided to end entry work and begin building a real revolutionary organization. Both the decision to join the Fourth International and the decision to merge the two groups were voted unanimously at this congress. At the latest congress (September 1972), the name SUF, which had been retained was changed to RSF.

Rouge. What are your main activities?

RSF. Throughout 1972, we have waged a campaign against the Common Market. We have done this on an anticapitalist basis, with slogans such as "Down With the Market of Big Capital!" "For International Unity of the Workers in Action!" "For a Red Europe!" and "For a Socialist United States of Europe!" As for the Stalinists, they campaigned on a petty-bourgeois, nationalist basis in collaboration with a bourgeois party.

We are working with other left-wing organizations in holding demonstrations, etc. On May Day, we organized four demonstrations. In Copenhagen, 10,000 persons came out.

This year we have taken part in seven demonstrations in support of Indochina.

In May, we organized on our own a big meeting with Ernest Mandel on the topic of repression in Europe. The same day, Melvin Laird (the American defense minister) was in Copenhagen. As a result, the meeting ended with a very militant demonstration reaffirming our solidarity with the Indochinese revolution.

We are the only ones in Denmark who are carrying out any activity in support of and in solidarity with the Irish fighters. We have organized demonstrations and a meeting (of 300 persons) with a member of the Official IRA.

When our comrade Ernest Mandel was expelled from Germany, we began a campaign of collecting signatures as a way of organizing a response to such moves by the bourgeoisie. A large number of trade-union bureaucrats, members of parliament, and even the leadership of the Danish CP signed the letter of protest.

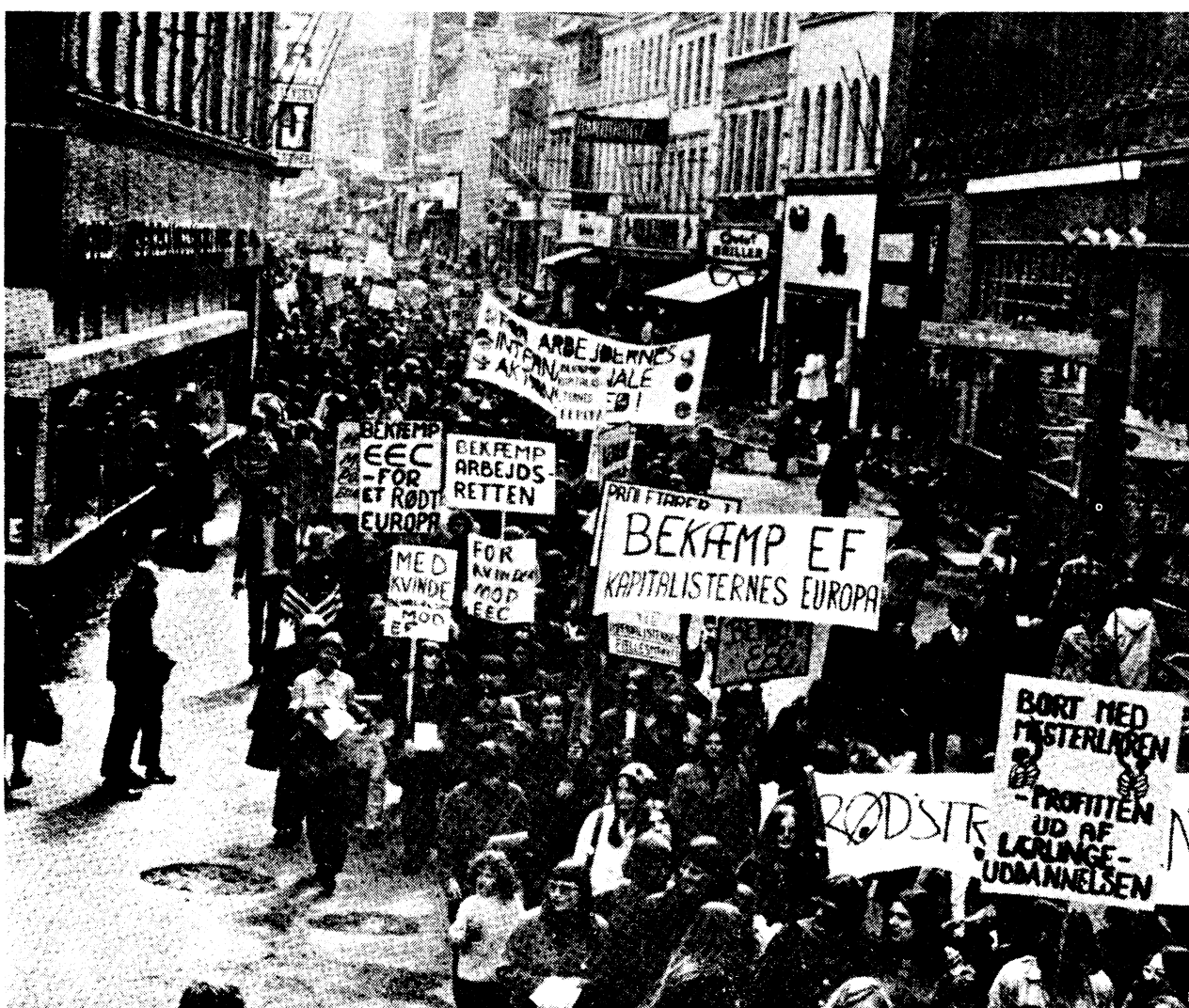
Our main area of intervention up to now has been the student milieu, in which we are intervening on a large scale this month because the university term is beginning again.

We are now publishing a monthly newspaper called *Klassekampen* [Class Struggle]. The press run is 3,000.

In addition to the monthly, we publish pamphlets and documents. This summer, we began putting out a theoretical journal, *Fjerde Internationale*, which will come out on a quarterly basis.

This, then, is briefly our program for action in the coming period. Aside from our campaign against the Common Market, we are beginning to orient our work toward the factories; this will become the main axis of our intervention. In connection with this work, we have strengthened our participation in the feminist movement, since a rather significant radicalization has taken place around the problem of women's liberation.

We will also be stepping up our support to the Indochinese revolution.



The Danish section of the Fourth International helped build this May Day demonstration this year in city of Aarhus.

The Chronicle of Current Events

Illegal journal documents wide scope of protest activity in the USSR

The twenty-sixth issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events* has appeared. Thus, the unofficial human-rights journal, which circulates in the USSR in typed or handwritten copies, has for the fourth time in half a year defied the attempt at the very highest level of the Soviet bureaucracy to wipe it out.

According to Soviet dissidents, the Soviet party's Central Committee voted last December 30 that the *Chronicle*, and a similar journal of the Ukrainian dissident movement *Ukrainsky Vysnyk*, should be suppressed. The *Chronicle* had appeared regularly, roughly every two months, since April 1968. It had become the chief source of generally reliable, unbiased information about the Soviet dissident movement, in all its various manifestations.

Despite the Central Committee's apparent order to the KGB (secret police) to eradicate the journal, its January 5 issue (No. 23) came out, as did its issue No. 24, dated March 5, 1972. (Both of those issues—as well as all earlier ones going back through No. 16—are available in English translation from Amnesty International. Details for subscriptions to ongoing issues may be obtained by writing Amnesty at Turnagain Lane, Farringdon Street, London E.C.4, England. An English-language version of issues 1-11 appears in *Uncensored Russia*, ed. P. Reddaway, American Heritage, London and New York, 1972.)

Beginning in early January, the KGB began a wave of arrests, searches, and interrogations. Scores of people have been victimized in these ways in connection with "Case 24," involving those suspected of preparing or circulating the *Chronicle*. As late as May 6, the KGB searched the homes of sixteen dissidents in connection with "Case 24."

After some delay, causing anxiety about the continued existence of the *Chronicle*, issue No. 25 appeared, dated May 20.

The following summary of the contents of the July 5 issue gives a broad and interesting picture of the nature and extent of recent protest activity in the USSR.

1. *An account of the arrest of civil-rights leader Pyotr Yakir*, son of a Soviet general executed under Stalin; and one or two letters from individuals and human-rights groups (e.g., the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR) protesting his arrest.

2. *Description of the trial of Yuri Melnik*, a 27-year-old Leningrader charged with making statements critical of the absence of democratic freedoms in the USSR, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the position of the Jews and the Crimean Tatars in the USSR, and publicizing the Committee for Human Rights (founded by Academician Sakharov and others in Moscow in 1970). Interestingly, Melnik was also charged with illegally procuring a radio teleprinter.

3. *An account of the trial of seven Leningraders*, who had apparently be-

gun some kind of alternative Leninist party with the aim of building true communism. Four of the accused were declared of unsound mind and committed for compulsory psychiatric treatment.

The *Chronicle* said it had not learned the contents of the charges against the seven, and that "It is known only that the accused group preached the following as its 'article of faith': Our society is sick; it needs to be cured by reviving genuine Leninist politics and building communism."

4. *The trial of journalist Boris Evdokimov*, charged with writing under a pseudonym for the Russian emigre press. Declared insane, Evdokimov was sent to the Leningrad Pris-



Pyotr Grigorenko

on Psychiatric Hospital.

5. *Details of searches, interrogations, and arrests* of people applying to leave for Israel, and others, in Odessa, Moscow, and Leningrad.

6. *Details of psychiatric examinations* of people with a previous history of dissidence (Kiev and Moscow).

7. *Political prisoners in psychiatric hospitals*—accounts of cases, many previously unknown, of people confined in the Leningrad "Special" Psychiatric Hospital and other prison hospitals. Viktor Fainberg, earlier reported very ill in the Leningrad hospital, is said to have been recommended for psychiatric treatment in "a hospital of the ordinary type for a period of four to five months." Former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, still in a prison mental hospital, has been recommended for "continued psychiatric treatment" after the regular six-month examination by a commission of "experts."

8. *An account of the expulsion from the USSR of London "Times" correspondent David Bonavia*, including the reaction of the Soviet and foreign press.

9. *A description of precautions taken by the Soviet authorities prior to the visit of President Nixon* in late May. (The Russian heading of this section of the *Chronicle* is "KNIKSON.") This section describes the detention of potential troublemakers by police; disconnection of telephones (including those of Pyotr

Yakir, Academician Sakharov, Valery Chalidze, Roy Medvedev, and other prominent dissidents); requirement that some Jews in the Baltic states and Byelorussia sign promises not to leave their hometowns during Nixon's visit; forcing people to get off Moscow-bound trains and planes; searches of Moscow apartments and detention of their occupants for up to fifteen days on charges of "petty hooliganism"; the forbidding of Soviet citizens whose apartments faced Nixon's street route in Moscow from coming to their windows the day of his arrival.

10. *An account of the attempt by police in the Ukraine to prevent Shevchenko Day* celebrations from going beyond the official ceremonies. (The Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko is honored every May by wreath-laying at his monument in Kiev, etc.) In recent years, unofficial celebrations have become occasions for expressions of national rights, against Russification.

11. *Excerpts from a press conference given in Kiev by the Belgian citizen Yaroslav Dobosch*, who was arrested in the Ukraine in January and deported from the Soviet Union after this press conference, staged by the KGB. Dobosch's testimony, extracted under pressure, is being used by the Kremlin against leading Ukrainian dissidents arrested in January and after.

12. *An account of the treatment of biologist Zhores Medvedev* when he tried to attend an international congress of gerontologists in Kiev (his original invitation having been suddenly withdrawn). Having gone to Kiev anyway, he was forcibly placed on a train and sent out of the city by the KGB.

13. *Events in Lithuania*—the suicides and attempted suicides, by self-immolation, of four Lithuanians are described. Official Lithuanian press and party reaction to the ensuing demonstrations and street fighting is quoted. There is an account of the arrest of some spectators at a sporting event in Vilnius that developed into an anti-Russian demonstration.

14. *Extracts from a report in a Soviet provincial paper* of the trial of



Vladimir Bukovsky

one Lakalov, who had allegedly been sending letters to a Russian radio station abroad.

15. *An account of a meeting in West Berlin* between German students and the Soviet press attaché in West Germany, Bogomolov, who said, among other things, that some psychiatric hospitals in the USSR were under KGB control to handle possible cases of mental illness among foreign spies captured in the USSR.

16. *The expulsion of poet and song writer Bulat Okudzhava* from the Soviet Writers' Union for failing to condemn publication of an anthology of his work by a Russian emigre publisher. All but one item in the anthology had been previously published (officially) in the USSR, notes the *Chronicle*.



Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

17. *An account of criticism of some young composers* for experimenting with musical form ("such things led to the events in Czechoslovakia," one bureaucrat fumed). Some members were expelled from the Composers' Union for rejecting this criticism and recently were denied readmission.

18. *Expulsion of Elena Kosterina*, a daughter of the late old-Bolshevik Alexei Kosterin, from the Soviet Communist party for "activities incompatible with membership, and support of anti-Soviet elements," that is, her association with the Initiative Group.

19. *News in brief*. The following are some of the brief items described:

A search of Vladimir Osipov's home. He is the editor of the dissident Slavophile journal *Veche*.

A cryptic report: "At the beginning of June, in Moscow, leaflets appealing to workers were distributed. The leaflets dealt with economic matters. The exact contents of the leaflets are not known to the *Chronicle*."

News from the Mordovian labor camps.

News of harassment of Jews in Kiev.

20. *Letters and documents*—various open letters are described. One concerns the fate of Ukrainian prisoners. Another, addressed to Angela Davis, requests her intercession on behalf of Vladimir Bukovsky, General Grigorenko, etc. A new appeal to the UN Secretary General by the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR is described, protesting the latest wave of persecutions and the "criminal usage of psychiatry"; also a telegram to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet from Sakharov and Leontovich, protesting new regulations prohibiting the smuggling of foodstuffs, etc., into labor camps. "No one would resort to smuggling," say the two academicians, "if there were no need for it." Some criticisms made by the Human Rights Committee in Moscow of legislation on "parasitism" are also recorded. □

International campaign launched to save lives of Trelew victims

[On August 15, twenty-five Argentine political prisoners escaped from the Rawson prison. Six made their way to Cuba, by way of Chile; nineteen, finding themselves surrounded by troops at the Trelew airport, surrendered.

[A week later, August 22, the nineteen were shot down by a marine guard unit. Thirteen died immediately; three died within a few days of the shooting, and three survived, although they were critically wounded.

[As *Intercontinental Press* has pointed out in previous issues, the survivors, held incommunicado, may be killed to prevent them from talking. An international defense campaign has been launched to protect them against further reprisals by the Argentine military dictatorship.

[We reprint below the text of a petition being circulated by the French Comité de Défense des Prisonniers Politiques Argentins (Committee to Defend Argentine Political Prisoners) as part of this worldwide campaign.]

To the Argentine Ambassador to France,

The Trelew survivors are still in isolation, and because their testimony is vital to establishing the truth about the events, there is no guarantee as to their personal safety.

Both the wounded prisoners and those remaining in the Rawson prison lack legal assistance, since their lawyers have been unable to meet with them; consequently their fate—collective or individual—is absolutely unknown.

In view of the fact that complete press censorship has been imposed on everything relating to these

events, that a veil of silence is being drawn over them so as to remove them from public attention, while at the same time the crime is being minimized and those responsible for it enjoy complete freedom to subject the political prisoners in their charge to the usual tortures, to attack "during attempted escape," or to the supreme punishment, as was inflicted at Trelew,

The undersigned demand of the Argentine government:

- An inquiry into the deaths of the sixteen prisoners at the Trelew air base, to be conducted by international bodies.

- The lifting of secrecy about the inmates of Rawson prison, and an inquiry by the appropriate bodies into the conditions of imprisonment in all of Argentina's political jails.

- The safeguarding of the lives and physical security of each and every political prisoner.

- Abrogation of the censorship that has blocked all news of the massacre, and abrogation of all repressive legislation inasmuch as it constitutes a new and flagrant violation of the most basic human rights

Sponsors of the Committee to Defend Argentine Political Prisoners in-

clude: Jorge Enrique Adoum, Simone de Beauvoir, Nicolas Baby, Daniel Bensaïd, Charles Bettelheim, Paul Blanquart, Me. Buttin, Claude Bourdet, Me. Annina A. de Carvalho, Jean Cassou, Robert Chapuis, Jean René Chauvin, Copi, Julio Cortazar, Françoise Couëdel, Régis Debray, Marguerite Duras, Pedro Angel Estupinan, Jean Pierre Faye, Michel Fiant, Roger Foirier, Gisèle Freund, Patrick Gancel, André Gorz, Daniel Guérin, Me. Gisèle Halimi, Paco Ibáñez, Me. Yves Jouffo, Rodolfo Krasno, Alain Krivine, Dominique Lehalle, Alain Labrousse, Michel Leiris, A. L. Lentin, Bernard Levy, Dyonos Mascolo, Gilbert Marquis, François Maspero, Albert Meister, François Mitterrand, Maurice Najman, Jacques Prunair, J. Perez Roman, Jean Picart-Ledoux, editorial board of the review *Esprit*, Serge Reggiani, Michel Rocard, Claude Roy, Nathalie Sarraute, Raymond Sarraute, Jean-Paul Sartre, Sesamo, Laurent Schwartz, Siné, Jean Vagel.

For Italy: Lelio Basso, Carlo Levi, Livio Maitan, Alberto Moravia, Pier Paolo Pasolini, Rossana Rossanda, Corrado Corghi. □

Ireland

Political trials to replace internment

On September 21, William Whitelaw, the London-appointed administrator of Northern Ireland, declared a formal end to the policy of interning suspected "enemies of the state" indefinitely without charge or trial. The British official was quick to point out that this did not mean that those interned would actually be released.

"Mr. Heath obviously felt he could not grant at this time the other Social Democratic and Labour party [SDLP] demand for release, prior to the conference [of Northern Irish parties scheduled to discuss the future of the British enclave in Ireland], of 241 suspected terrorists still held in Long Kesh internment camp," the *New York Times* commented in an editorial September 23. "William Whitelaw . . . has promised, however, to set up a tribunal to try the suspects promptly so that they will either be released or imprisoned on specific charges."

The *Times* did not explain why "ending internment" did not include releasing the internees or why Heath would find it any easier to free the imprisoned men after the scheduled conference.

Why should there be any more reason to release the internees after the conferences, unless, that is, the participants representing the nationalist community were expected to do something to "make Mr. Whitelaw's task easier"? In that case, how could the *Times* avoid the conclusion that the internees are being kept in the Long Kesh concentration camp, after more than a year of arbitrary confinement, as hostages for the good behavior of the nationalist leaders? In that case, why should the SDLP follow the *Time's* advice and accept "the end of the internment policy as evidence of Brit-

ain's good faith"?

Nor did the *Times* explain the precise meaning of Whitelaw's promise to "try the suspects promptly." Bernard Weinraub went into this, however, in a September 21 dispatch to the *Times* from London.

"The new tribunal—which will probably consist of three judges—will sit without a jury and may conduct hearings in secret. Cases will be referred to it by Mr. Whitelaw. The judges will pass sentence for a fixed period."

Whitelaw justified the new system in these terms:

"Certain basic problems of counter-terroring terrorism by the normal processes of law will still present difficulties. These include the problem of preventing intimidation of witnesses who may be in danger of their lives if they give evidence in court and of bringing to trial many of those who, although responsible for organizing and directing terrorism, take care to avoid, so far as possible, themselves engaging in terrorist operations." The British "administrator's" definition of fighting terrorism obviously includes general political repression. He said:

"The system of internment cannot be ended without putting something in its place."

Even the most moderate of the nationalist leaders were forced to recognize that Britain's formal concession was nothing but another step in a policy already clearly taking form in the first days after the imposition of direct rule from London in March 1972.

By using its special powers of political repression in Northern Ireland in a more discriminating and flexible way, the British government evidently hopes to be able at the same time to

increase its intimidation of opponents of the regime and to reduce the scandal created by the introduction of the concentration camp system on August 9, 1971.

Mass internment, affecting a substantial percentage of the male Catholic population in areas where there has been active opposition to the British system, has already done its job of terrorizing the nationalist people. Under the new setup, any political opponent of the regime, or anyone expressing sympathy with opponents of the regime, would still be liable to arbitrary arrest and long prison sentences meted out by drumhead courts.

While large numbers of men held in concentration camps in the full glare of international publicity could expect that their imprisonment could not last for too long a time or take too brutal a form, individual political prisoners sentenced to terms of more than five years could not be sure of getting out of prison before they were physically and mentally broken by the well-practiced jailers of the imperialist fortress state.

Both camps in Northern Ireland recognized the new variant for what it is. "The British Government's decision to set up a special court to try internees in Northern Ireland was condemned today as 'another form of internment' by Roman Catholic political leaders," the *New York Times* reported September 23.

In the same article, the *Times* noted that the leader of the ultrarightist wing of the proimperialist Unionist party, William Craig, "commended the provision in the proposed legislation to prosecute persons supporting illegal organizations even if they took no part in terrorist activities." □



Hugo Blanco G.

In 1963 Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco was arrested by the government for leading the peasant unionization movement in the countryside of Peru. He was tried by a military court and sentenced to death. *Intercontinental Press* played a leading role in the international campaign to save Hugo Blanco's life.

Later, when his sentence was commuted to 25 years in prison, *Intercontinental Press* campaigned for his release.

After seven years in jail, Blanco was amnestied. Eight months later, he was exiled to Mexico.

Since then, Blanco has moved to Argentina, where in less than a month he was arrested without charges. He is now threatened with expulsion from that country. Again, *Intercontinental Press* is providing the necessary background information and documents to help Blanco win his freedom.

The case of Hugo Blanco is only one among many reported by *Intercontinental Press*. As a primary source of information on struggles like this, subscribe to *Intercontinental Press*.

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Some gains in D.C.; stalemate in Phila.

Teachers return to work in two cities

By ERICH MARTEL

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 3 — Striking District of Columbia teachers represented by the Washington Teachers Union Local 6, AFL-CIO, have returned to work after a two-week walk-out. The "illegal" strike—the first for D.C. teachers—was carried on in the face of court injunctions and threats of fines and imprisonment.

At a membership meeting yesterday morning, about 2,000 teachers voted overwhelmingly to accept an agreement worked out between WTU negotiators, the board of education, and the mayor's office.

Although some teachers expressed dissatisfaction by voting against the settlement, the general mood was one of elation that the strike had been at least partially successful.

The teachers won the restoration of 182 of the 1,500 teaching positions eliminated by previous budget cuts, \$350,000 for sorely needed supplies and equipment, repair within five weeks of about 200 hazardous conditions in the school buildings, and recognition of the WTU as bargaining agent for substitute teachers as soon as it signs up a majority of them. The board also agreed to drop a requirement that permanent teachers take additional courses to retain certification and promised no reprisals against strikers.

The union failed to win the 17 percent pay increase it had fought for, but the school board agreed to lobby Congress for such a raise. On Sept. 27, the House District Committee passed a 7 percent raise retroactive to Sept. 1 and a 5 percent increase to take effect Sept. 1, 1973.

Congress is expected to pass this measure before its mid-October adjournment.

The union also failed to obtain a service fee from nonunion teachers.

On Wednesday, Sept. 27, Superior Court Judge Robert Campbell fined the union \$5,000 plus \$10,000 for each additional day of the strike for refusal to comply with an earlier back-

to-work order. He further found members of the WTU executive board in contempt and fined them \$300 plus \$100 for each additional day of the strike, and ordered WTU President William Simons to jail the next day.

The following morning the judge vacated the individual fines and the jailing of Simons. But he continued the fine against the union and ordered union officials to be in court Monday, Oct. 2, for final contempt proceedings.

Campbell's hesitancy to impose individual punishment on the union leadership indicated his awareness of the union's determination not to be intimidated by the court. It also reflected the fact that the strike enjoyed broad support in the district's Black community. Large numbers of students and parents joined the teachers in spirited picketing and rallies.

On Monday morning, Oct. 2, shortly after the teachers had ratified the agreement, Judge Campbell vacated contempt charges against individual union leaders and stayed a \$90,000 fine against the WTU.

One of the gains of the strike is a strong feeling of solidarity among rank-and-file teachers and a confidence in their ability to carry out united, militant action. Since the strike began, 500 of the system's 3,000 non-union teachers have joined the union.

By CARL FRANK

PHILADELPHIA—After shutting the schools here for 23 days, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) concluded a temporary cease-fire with the school board, opening classes for the city's 285,000 students.

At a Sept. 27 meeting attended by more than 4,000 teachers, the PFT agreed by a 3 to 1 margin to return to work under the terms of the old contract while negotiations for a new contract continue. The teachers have been striking to prevent the school board's attempt to severely weaken, if not break, the union's strength.



Washington Teachers Union organizer George Brickhouse speaks to teachers at picnic rally during strike.

The school board had previously refused a union proposal to open the schools under the old contract while negotiations continued. Until the Sept. 27 agreement the school board insisted that any return to work must be based on changed working conditions. High school teachers would be required to work 40 minutes longer each teaching day, and a different rostering plan had eliminated nearly 500 teaching positions. In addition, several hundred nonteaching assistants were not to be rehired, and teachers had to take over such duties as hall and lavatory monitoring.

The back-to-work agreement, however, was hardly a victory for the teachers. After a month-long strike, the teachers are back where they started—working under the conditions of

the old contract without any salary increase or other improvements. Furthermore, without the benefit of the pressure of a school closure the bargaining position of the school board is strengthened.

The school board has succeeded in fostering differences within the union itself that are likely to intensify as bargaining continues. As one top administration official told a *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter, "We expect that when this thing is over, the union will have a lot of fence-mending to do within its own organization. And that's a situation that strengthens our hand considerably in the day-to-day squabbling and conflict between the system and the union, the kind of routine fights that go on all over the city during the school year."

Cleveland prepares for nat'l YSA gathering

By CAROLINE FOWLKES

Reports from the Cleveland Young Socialist Alliance indicate enthusiastic response to initial publicity on the YSA convention, scheduled in that city during the Thanksgiving holidays, Nov. 23-26.

At Case Western Reserve University, all first-year students attending an orientation session received copies of a wallposter advertising the YSA convention in their official packets handed out by the school.

Following the orientation session, 200 students attended a panel debate that included supporters of both George McGovern and Linda Jenness. The students were invited to attend the Thanksgiving convention and join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Observer, the student body newspaper at Case Western, has offered to print weekly articles on the YSA

convention as well as report on the activities of campus groups helping to organize it.

During the second week of classes at Case Western the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley ran continuous showings of the film *To Make a Revolution* at a school-sponsored activities fair. The film features activities of the Young Socialist Alliance and discussions with YSAers attending a previous national convention. More than 75 students saw the film.

Louise Goodman, Cleveland convention coordinator, reports that at the Case Western campus alone students have voiced so much interest in the YSA and the convention that "the YSA is putting out a regular campus newsletter to over 50 people who want to be informed of our activities, meetings, and forums."

Many of these students were introduced to the YSA at literature tables set up almost daily at Case Western. "People know that the YSA is an active political organization, with an analysis of many issues being discussed by students. Sometimes as many as 50 to 75 students will be gathered around our table, debating everything from the Middle East to Southeast Asia and asking YSAers what they think."

Response to the YSA and to the Thanksgiving convention has spread through the city and across Ohio. Campaign supporters of Jenness and Pulley have frequently set up tables at various high schools in Cleveland,

gaining many endorsers of the SWP's presidential candidates and handing out literature on the YSA convention.

In response to a news release sent to all Ohio state colleges, the *Daily Kent Stater*, read by the 25,000 students at Kent State University, has requested weekly articles from convention organizers reporting on news about plans for the convention.

From Mayfield Heights, Ohio, a sophomore at Bowling Green State University wrote to the YSA for more information. "I am sending this on a separate piece of paper," he writes, "because I didn't want to cut out the coupon you had in your wallposter, since it's hanging on my dorm wall."

An early report from YSA leader Geoff Mirelowitz, who is touring the country to invite young people to the convention, indicates an enthusiastic response from the West Coast.

At a meeting of 25 people at San Diego State College, three people indicated they wanted to join the YSA and attend the convention. Two others decided to drop their support of George McGovern and work on the campaign of Linda Jenness. "We won't be fooled ever again," they said, as they filled out their endorser cards for the SWP's candidates.

Mirelowitz also spoke at a gay liberation meeting, was interviewed by a local NBC news affiliate and the San Diego State newspaper, and answered questions about the YSA convention on a local FM radio station.

**1972 and beyond...
help build
the socialist
alternative**

**Come to the 12th
Young Socialist
Nat'l Convention
Nov. 23-26
Cleveland**

Clip and mail to: Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

☐ I want more information on the Young Socialist National Convention.

☐ I want to join the YSA.

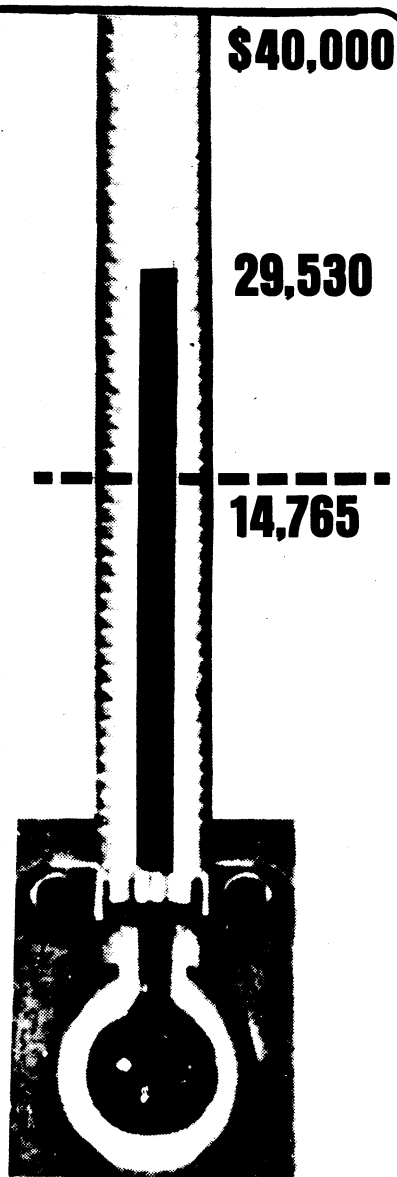
☐ Enclosed is my contribution toward the YSA National fund drive.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____ School _____



Jenness-Pulley Campaign Matching Fund Campaign rallies boost fund

Six rallies held in different cities for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley were responsible for the major progress made this week in the Matching Fund drive.

Forty percent of the total amount at such rallies is sent to the national campaign office and credited to the Matching Fund.

The rally and banquet collections broke down as follows: Philadelphia — \$800; Denver — \$300; Portland — \$200; Brooklyn — \$860; Lower Manhattan — \$1,814; and Los Angeles — \$1,450. The total collected was \$5,424.00; 40 percent, \$2,169.60, goes toward the Matching Fund.

Individual donations received directly by the national campaign office this week totaled \$239.00.

With only five weeks remaining in the Matching Fund drive, more than \$5,000 remains to be raised and matched.

Your help is needed.

() I can contribute \$_____ to the \$40,000 Matching Fund.
() I can contribute \$_____ in two monthly installments (Oct. and Nov.).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Jenness wins new support for spot on Ohio, Ill., ballots

By TOM VERNIER

OCT. 3 — Representative Louis Stokes, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, has joined the growing movement to protest the exclusion of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley from the Ohio and Illinois ballots because of their age.

A letter by Stokes, a Democrat, to Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown was released today by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). CoDEL, a national, nonpartisan voting rights group, is mobilizing support for the right of young people to run for office and be on the ballot.

In his letter to Brown, Stokes said, "I firmly believe that our political system must be open to the presentation of diverse viewpoints. The voters should be given the opportunity to consider Ms. Jenness and Mr. Pulley and their platform. The question of their eligibility to serve in the offices is for the courts after their election."

CoDEL has also announced plans for a national news conference to be held in Washington, D. C., Oct. 18. Statements from prominent citizens

and organizations defending the rights of Jenness and Pulley will be released. CoDEL is urging all supporters of young people's right to run for office to solicit statements for release at the news conference. Statements should be sent to CoDEL, P. O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

The federal courts in both Ohio and Illinois have refused to order state officials to place Jenness and Pulley on the ballot. The court decision in Ohio is being appealed to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati.

Attorneys for CoDEL will argue tomorrow before the Illinois Supreme Court that the state electoral board violated its own procedural rules and the state election code in barring the entire SWP slate from the ballot.

In a telegram sent today to Illinois Secretary of State John Lewis, a number of prominent citizens of Illinois protested the decision to remove the SWP slate from the ballot. Signers of the telegram include: State Representative Leland Rayson, chairman of Illinois CoDEL; Lester Jackson of

the Chicago West Businessmen's Association; Joel Henning of the American Bar Association; Richard Criley of the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Chicago City Council members Leon Despres and Anna Langford; state representatives J. Glenn Schneider and Robert Mann; Ernest DeMaio of the United Electrical Workers District 2; professors Staughton Lynd, Richard Rubinstein, and Victor Cook; Ida Terkel; and John Kearney of the Independent Voters of Illinois.

In other developments, an important decision is expected from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) tomorrow. The Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee has appealed to the FCC to overturn the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) refusal to grant equal time to Jenness.

NBC refused equal time on the basis of Jenness's age, saying she is not a legally qualified candidate. If the FCC decision is unfavorable, the case will be taken to federal court.

Minn. socialist fights age law

MINNEAPOLIS — Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate from Minnesota, is putting up a tough fight for her right to be listed on the ballot in November. The 25-year-old candidate has been refused a ballot spot by Secretary of State Arlen Erdahl on the grounds that her petitions (signed by 3,600 voters) were not valid because they weren't accompanied by an affidavit stating that Hillery is at least 30 years old.

Since the petitions were rejected last July, Hillery has made the right of young people to run for public office a major issue in her campaign. For the past two weeks she has been touring the state, visiting supporters and speaking to the news media in Rochester, Duluth, St. Cloud, and Mankato. Her tour has drawn attention to the fact that she is a serious candidate who is being excluded from the ballot simply because of her age.

Interestingly enough, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley have been certified for ballot status in Minnesota. Neither candidate is 35, but they will be listed on the ballot as the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. Minnesota Assistant Attorney General Byron Starns ruled that since the presi-

dential electors are the real candidates in a presidential election, state authorities have no "official" knowledge of the ages of Jenness and Pulley.

Bill Peterson, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from Minnesota's 5th C. D., will also be on the ballot.

With the aid of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), Hillery went to the Minnesota Supreme Court on Sept. 14 to obtain an order preventing the secretary of state from printing ballots without her name on them. Peter Benzian, Hillery's attorney, argued before Supreme Court Justice James Otis that according to the U. S. Constitution, Congress is the only body that can rule on the qualifications of its members. He contended that the State of Minnesota is thus prohibited from attempting to determine Hillery's qualifications.

According to an article in the Sept. 14 *Minneapolis Star*, Otis told Hillery that he was "not going to make it easy for you to create a cause celebre. The court has too many other things to do."

A ruling from Otis on whether the issue will be heard before the entire State Supreme Court is expected this week.

Jack Baker, president of the University of Minnesota Student Association, and Louis DeMars, Minneapolis city councilman, have both spoken out in defense of Hillery's right to ballot status. Baker stated that "the secretary has simply reiterated the obsolete dogma that chronological age is somehow equated to wisdom. Clearly, the young people of this country are proving themselves to be vital and talented participants and contributors to all levels of government."

CoDEL has announced a petition campaign in Minnesota for Hillery's right to be on the ballot.



Mary Hillery

Lafferty debates Dem in Boston

By BARBARA ESKIN

BOSTON — Jeanne Lafferty, the Socialist Workers Party candidate in Massachusetts' 8th C. D., debated Black Democrat Hubie Jones here at the University of Massachusetts on Sept. 14. Jones, a candidate for the Democratic Party nomination in the 8th C. D., was defeated in the Sept. 19 primaries. Seventy-five students attended the debate.

Lafferty began by saying: "The reason the Socialist Workers Party is running in the 1972 elections on both a local and national level is because we believe that neither the Republican nor Democratic parties have the solution for the millions of American people. We believe that not only do they not have solutions to these problems, but [they] are part of the very

system that creates the war in Vietnam, racism, sexism, pollution, the Attica massacre, and other things of this sort."

From then on, the focus of the debate was whether the problems of society arise from the values of individuals or from the structure of the system. Lafferty went on to say: "We believe that the problems exist in the fact that 2.2 percent of the people in the United States own 85 percent of the wealth . . . and one-half of the wealth of the entire world. Because this situation exists, this 2.2 percent controls and makes the decisions [about] what this country is going to do."

Lafferty stressed the need for abortion law repeal, immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, and support for

mass actions around those issues.

She also spoke on the need for an independent Black political party, stating that if one had existed during the Attica revolt, it might have mobilized demonstrations that could have prevented the final massacre.

Jones called himself "basically an advocate of the people." He spoke on the need to get Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other unrepresented people in national and local political office.

He said the United States should "set a date" for withdrawal from Southeast Asia and should support a coalition government in South Vietnam.

He called the biggest crisis in American society "a crisis in values." Lafferty instead put the blame for society's problems on the capitalist government.

Brass faces court hearing in Ft. Dix case

By LARRY SEIGLE

OCT. 3—The U.S. Army has lost round one in its fight to keep antiwar candidates from campaigning among GIs at Fort Dix. A federal judge has ordered the Army to appear in court in Newark, N.J., Oct. 6, to defend its decision barring Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Julius Hobson from visiting Fort Dix.

Jenness and Pulley are running for president and vice-president on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Spock is the presidential candidate of the People's Party and Hobson is his running mate.

The Army prevented Pulley and Spock from entering Fort Dix to distribute literature and talk to GIs on Sept. 23. This was in spite of federal court rulings that such activity is legal on portions of military installations that are generally open to the public.

Fort Dix, which occupies nearly 32,000 acres, is an open base with no gates or restrictions to civilian access. The numerous entrances and exits include public highways that are major thoroughfares used by civilians traveling through New Jersey, as well as by military and civilian employees of the Army.

The court order for the Army to immediately "show cause" came at the

request of attorney David Kairys, who is representing the plaintiffs on behalf of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Kairys had asked the judge to expedite the case so that a decision could be made before the elections on Nov. 7.

Several antiwar activists who have previously been ejected from the base for distributing literature have joined the candidates as plaintiffs. These include John Ginaven and Donald Misch, staff members of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, a national draft and military counseling organization based in Philadelphia; Alan Hardy, a member of Philadelphia Resistance; and Robert Stanton, a former staff member of the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee.

If successful, the suit will open up Fort Dix not only to candidates but to all antiwar activists.

The complaint charges that the Army has violated the First and Fifth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. It accuses the Army of depriving the candidates, who do not have the resources to buy advertising in the mass media, of their "only feasible means of communicating their views and carrying their campaigns to the service per-

sonnel and dependents on the Base."

The plaintiffs contend that by preventing them "from disseminating their ideas among Base personnel while dissemination of other ideas is allowed," the Army is discriminating against antiwar and radical views, and is infringing on the right of the GIs to "receive information and their right to knowingly and effectively exercise their franchise."

The suit asks that Fort Dix regula-

tions prohibiting political activity on post be declared unconstitutional since they "constitute a vague and overbroad proscription on speech, assembly and association."

A decision is expected shortly after the Oct. 6 hearing. If the case is won, the SWP 1972 Campaign Committee will proceed immediately with plans for Pulley and Jenness to campaign at Fort Dix.



Militant/Derrick Morrison

Andrew Pulley and John Powers, Massachusetts SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, at entrance to Quonset Point Naval Air Station in Rhode Island. The Navy refused to allow Pulley to campaign on base despite a court ruling in his favor. Pulley told reporters the SWP will obtain a court order to force the Navy to let him on base.

SWP certified in 20 states

OCT. 3—Twenty states have so far certified the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential slate for ballot status, more than in any previous year. In 1968 the SWP was on the ballot in 19 states.

Certification is also likely in New Hampshire, Washington, and Louisiana. These states have not yet ruled on the status of the SWP.

• Six states and the District of Columbia have refused to certify Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, in spite of compliance with these states' ballot

requirements.

• In Ohio and Illinois the candidates have been barred because Linda Jenness, 31, is "too young," according to state election officials.

• In D.C. and in Florida, state officials are claiming that the petitions nominating the SWP presidential slate did not have enough signatures of registered voters. This claim has been made in spite of the fact that double the requirement was submitted.

• In Delaware, Tennessee, and Utah, state officials have pointed to

minor "technicalities" in the law in an attempt to keep the SWP ticket off the ballot. Legal action against these unfair challenges is under way in Tennessee and Utah.

The 20 states where SWP ballot status is assured to date are: Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

'72 Socialist Campaign

The truth about Nixon

Making Richard Nixon Perfectly Clear, the latest in a series of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley truth kits on the record and program of the presidential candidates, is now available. The YSJP pamphlet on McGovern has already sold nearly 50,000 copies.

Larry Seigle is the national campaign manager of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign.

The Nixon pamphlet, spiced with quotes by and about the president (eg. "My mother is a Quaker, she is a very good one. I am not as good." — R.M.N., 1960), traces Nixon's political career from his days as a witch-hunting congressman from California to his present duties as Bomber-in-Chief. It documents Nixon's record on the war, labor, civil liberties, the Black struggle, and issues affecting women.

Making Richard Nixon Perfectly Clear should be at least as popular as the anti-McGovern pamphlet. And, to judge from the latest polls, it will be topical for some time to come. The pamphlet sells for 25 cents; 15 cents on orders of 50 or more. To order your four years' supply, contact the SWP National Campaign Committee.

• Herman Kirsch, SWP candidate for Congress from Ohio's 20th C.D.,

issued on Sept. 24 an appeal for support to striking Cleveland city employees. He pledged his full support to American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Local 100 in its strike for higher wages. "In the last year prices have risen over 4 percent while wages have remained virtually the same," Kirsch said. "Nixon's 'wage-price freeze' has benefited no one except the large companies and employers by giving them a handle to deny wage increases, while Nixon's administration sanctions price increase after price increase."

Kirsch pointed out that in Cleveland, "money has been allocated for new police cars and a new Justice Center while employees of the city continue to receive frozen wages in the face of rising inflation." He promised that SWP candidates would be on the picket lines.

• Ken Milner, SWP nominee for the 7th C.D. in California, has appealed to the city council in Berkeley to join the movement to defeat Proposition 13, a right-wing attempt to reinstate the death penalty in California. Milner accused Governor Ronald Reagan and other promoters of the proposition of using it to intimidate Blacks and Chicanos, the main victims of the death penalty.

"Proposition 13 will not make the streets safer," Milner declared. "It will only mean that more Blacks and Browns will be murdered by the state. We urge this city council to condemn

the proposition in the strongest terms. We urge everyone to vote 'no' on Proposition 13."

• The SWP congressional candidate in Minnesota's 5th C.D., Bill Peterson, has also raised the issue of the death penalty in his campaign. He issued a statement on Sept. 22 labeling the Senate's approval of a provision allowing the death penalty for airplane hijackers as "shameful hypocrisy."

Peterson challenged his Democratic opponent, Representative Donald Fraser, to rally sentiment against that provision of the bill when it goes to the House. Peterson pointed out that this is the first attempt nationally to reinstitute the death penalty since the U.S. Supreme Court's decision last June that the death penalty, as presently administered, was unconstitutional.

Peterson declared that "the death penalty, no matter how it is used, represents a 'cruel and unusual punishment.' It is congressmen such as Fraser, my opponent, that support this penalty because they represent the rich who pass judgment on the poor."

• The September *Newsletter* published by the Southern Regional Office of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (formerly National Committee to Abolish HUAC) is devoted almost entirely to the unfair application of election laws in Tennessee. The SWP, the Communist Party, and the People's Party have

all been barred from the Tennessee ballot.

"At issue in this controversy is not only the rights of minority parties to espouse their programs but the rights of Tennesseans to be able to vote for all alternatives available to them in an open, democratic election," the *Newsletter* says.

• A leaflet being circulated in Jackson, Miss., by Jan Hillegas of Tougaloo University reminds Mississippians that socialists have a long tradition of electoral activity in Mississippi. The socialist candidate for lieutenant governor in 1911 got nearly 20 percent of the vote, and socialists were on the ballot from 1900 to 1940.

Directed primarily at members of a Women's Coalition, who have been debating whom to support in the elections, the leaflet argues that "The SWP is by no means a perfect answer to the problems, but I would urge you to consider that supporting McGovern is voting for a continuation of the system largely as it is. A vote for Jenness and Pulley is at least a concrete protest against the system."

For the first time, SWP candidates will appear on the Mississippi ballot.

To order campaign literature or receive further information, contact the SWP 1972 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7676.

Larry Seigle



Atlanta cops list 'extremists'

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—An internal police department publication listing "extremist militant individuals and addresses" has stirred up a storm of indignation against police witch-hunt tactics in Atlanta. The list was leaked to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Socialist Workers Party. Both promptly contacted other organizations, urging them to give testimony in protest against the police list at the Sept. 13 Aldermanic Police Committee (civilian review board) meeting.

Headed "Survival Information," the list appeared in the *Signal 39 Newsletter*, a secret police department communication. Included among 10 "extremist addresses" were those of the Black Panther Party, the Black Workers Congress, and the Black Federation Alliance of Georgia State University.

Also listed were nine "extremist individuals," eight of whom are outspoken Black political activists; the only white listed is a member of a motorcycle gang who is wanted for murder.

The paragraph prefacing the list warns, "The following list of persons and addresses is furnished by the Intelligence Division in the hopes it will enable the police officers in the Atlanta Police Department to stay alive When approaching these addresses and individuals, use extreme caution."

The list was leaked Tuesday night, Sept. 12. By Sept. 13, Alice Conner, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia, was on the 6 p.m. WSB-TV news urging attendance at the Aldermanic Police Committee meeting that evening to

protest "this provocative attack on the entire radical community and civil liberties in general."

At the police committee hearing, attorney Mary Joyce Johnson, representing the Atlanta Lawyers Guild, stated



Alice Conner

Militant/Steve Dash

that no one on the list had ever used violence toward the police. "In fact," she said, "one of the named organizations, the Atlanta Peace Action Coalition, is specifically dedicated to ending violence—the violence of the Vietnam war."

Samuel Lundy of the Black Panther Party, whose name heads the list, said, "After publication of this list, our headquarters will no longer be a safe place to give breakfasts for children."

Lundy testified that Police Lieutenant W.W. Holley had illegally entered the Panther headquarters by impersonating a building inspector. Holley,

the Tom who compiled the list, admitted he had posed as a building inspector. Lundy asked, "If we're so dangerous, why didn't we shoot him down like a dog when he came to our headquarters masquerading as a housing inspector?"

Additional testimony was given by lawyer Gerald Cohen of the ACLU; Shelby Cullom of the Georgia Gay Liberation Front, which shares its address with the Atlanta Peace Action Coalition; and Alice Conner.

Conner charged that the list "gives police officers the excuse to shoot first and ask questions later." This charge so infuriated Police Chief John Inman that he began screaming at Conner. He was quickly hushed by the committee chairman, Black Alderman Ira Jackson.

The lead headline in the Sept. 15 *Atlanta Constitution* read, "Shoot-to-kill Intent is Denied by Inman." But Inman told the *Atlanta Journal* that he plans to expand the list in the future and to keep it more secret. "All of these organizations," he said, "have one thing in mind, and that's to undermine the police department."

Tom Fiske of the Atlanta Peace Action Coalition told *The Militant*, "APAC plans to unite with other organizations to launch a broad defense against this police attack. We intend to go to the next police committee hearing in force and to picket the police department if necessary."

Fiske pointed out that Atlanta Mayor Sam Massell apparently does not share Inman's view of APAC, since Massell has endorsed actions called by APAC and has urged the police to grant permits for its antiwar demonstrations.

Controls help airlines, hurt air workers

By TERRY QUILICO

CHICAGO—Workers in the air transportation industry are subject to most of the same government regulations as railroad workers and face some of the same problems in wage negotiations. These are problems that will plague most other workers if restrictive legislation is extended, as appears likely.

In August, Airlift International, a cargo airline, concluded negotiations on a new contract with the Air Line Employees Association International (ALEA), an independent union. The contract agreement, however, fell far short of the hopes many union members held during the negotiations.

These hopes were based primarily on proposals for the new contract drawn up in May by the ALEA membership of Local Sub-Council 62-B (Airlift Chicago) and circulated throughout the 14 local councils and sub-councils for endorsement by the membership.

The proposals included a call for increased medical benefits, a 30-hour workweek without reduction in pay, an unlimited cost-of-living clause, employee access to personal files, provision for employee evaluation of management personnel in regard to discrimination and violations of workers' rights, and the limitation of all contracts to one year.

Except for making minor adjustments in the employee share of medical insurance costs, however, the employers refused to accept any of the proposals. The company, taking advantage of its strong position, gave a 10 percent wage increase over the 12-month agreement, a settlement that conforms with average airline wages.

The position of the airlines is secure. This industry, like others in transportation and interstate commerce, is heavily controlled by the government. This is reflected not only by restrictive antilabor legislation such as the Railway Labor Act but also by the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB).

The CAB has allowed airlines to form "mutual aid pacts" in which member companies contribute to a fund that reimburses companies for profits lost when workers strike. For example, when Northwest Airlines was struck for five months in 1970, the company received \$47-million from other pact members.

In addition, the wage-control swindle has given management much encouragement, while high unemployment in the industry continually threatens workers with layoffs.

The bargaining position of ALEA in particular is hampered by its narrow craft basis, which restricts its members to airline employees. A friendly working relationship with other labor organizations in the field of transportation would be a good starting point toward eliminating this isolation.

The members of ALEA Local 62-B also submitted to the officials of the union a set of proposals calling for the creation of an independent labor party, an assertion of the unconditional right to strike, elimination of all laws undermining the independence of the unions, as well as a call for ALEA to publicly condemn wage controls.

U.S. transit bill no turning point

By STEVE BECK

The Senate voted on Sept. 19 to permit the states to use \$800-million of this year's \$7-billion highway appropriation to build mass transit systems in urban areas. Until now, the money from the Highway Trust Fund, derived from taxes on gasoline, tire rubber, and truck tonnage, had been earmarked exclusively for road construction.

The amendment, supported by both the Nixon administration and many Democrats, overturned a veto of transit support by the Senate Public Works Committee. A less restrictive proposal by senators Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.) and Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) to allot three times as much money for public transit was roundly defeated.

It is unlikely that this vote marks a turning point for the nation's deteriorating mass transportation. The House and Senate versions of the appropriation bill have yet to be coordinated, and according to the *New York Times*, "it is highly unlikely that the [House Public Works] committee or the full House will allow any of this money to be spent on rail systems."

Even if allocated, the money would go to statehouses, where the highway lobbies, unalterably opposed to mass transit, are no less powerful than in Washington.

Moreover, not a cent can be spent on a rail system until the area involved has completed its link in the 42,500-mile Interstate Highway System. In many parts of the country, neighborhood groups, Black and Latino communities, and environmentalists have fought and often halted interstate highway construction that was disrupting city life.

The Senate demonstrated its contempt for this concern by approving

the building of a freeway through a public park in San Antonio, Texas, in violation of federal laws prohibiting such construction when alternate routes are available.

The Trust Fund and interstate system have been the main weapons in what city planner Lewis Mumford characterized as "the calamitous absurdity" of subordinating all forms of travel to the private automobile (*The Highway and the City*, 1959).

Mumford warned that "we have already crippled the motorcar, by placing on this single means of transportation the burden for every kind of travel . . . this overconcentration,



moreover, is rapidly destroying our cities. . . ." Noting that mass transit could carry 10 times as many persons in far less space (if properly maintained, which it hasn't been, he recommended a more balanced system.

Ten years later, Helen Leavitt documented the grim results in her book *Superhighway—Superhoax*, but also proved that if the auto was inefficient, it was not unprofitable. One-fifth of all steel, two-thirds of all rubber, nine-tenths of all gasoline, are consumed

by the motor vehicle system, which is itself a \$120-billion a year business.

Mass murder is a built-in feature of this transportation "system." According to the National Safety Council, auto accidents in 1970 killed 54,800 Americans, injuring another 2 million. By comparison, rail and transit accidents accounted for 600 deaths and 21,221 injuries. The highways have claimed more lives than all the wars this country ever fought.

In their Sept. 21 editorial, the *New York Times*, influential voice of big business, even admits that the "tardiness" of Congress in passing this weak measure for mass transit is due to

"the lack of organization of those needing rapid transit and by the massed political power of the highway lobby."

The most powerful elements of the ruling class, the auto, oil, and steel company owners, intend to keep having the American taxpayers finance their own slaughter. Only a more powerful alliance of rail and transit workers, oppressed nationalities, students, environmentalists, and commuters can force the government to construct both urban and intercity rail systems at the expense of highway giveaways.

Martial law tightens in the Philippines

By DAVE FRANKEL

OCT. 2 — Since his declaration of martial law on Sept. 23, President Ferdinand Marcos has continued to tighten his grip on the political life of the Philippines. All high schools, colleges, and universities have been ordered closed indefinitely so that they can be purged of "communist subversives." Opposition politicians, newspaper writers and publishers critical of the Marcos regime, left-wing political activists, and trade-union leaders have been arrested. It has been announced that opposition leaders will be tried for treason.

Marcos has also set up special military tribunals to try cases involving "subversion" and "violations of national security," and has ordered strict censorship of the news media.

Marcos said he declared martial law to foil a "communist plot" to overthrow his government. Charlotte Saikowski, writing in the Sept. 28 *Christian Science Monitor*, suggests a more realistic view. She writes that "some veteran analysts view the events of recent days as essentially a coup d'etat by the Philippine leader in order to stay in power."

Similar statements have appeared

in many major newspapers. According to Philippine law, a president cannot serve more than two terms, and Marcos is nearing the end of his second stay in office. His executive secretary has already stated that the presidential election slated for November 1973 might be canceled.

Marcos's personal fortune began to increase dramatically after his election as president on a platform promising extensive reforms, and the "credibility of Marcos and the government had plummeted in recent months," reports Lee Lescaze in the Sept. 30 *Washington Post*.

Marcos initiated a demagogic campaign to convince Filipinos that he will root out corruption. But as Lescaze points out, "the skeptics wonder how long the military men who were receiving bribes or kickbacks will be able to continue their life style on reduced income."

Apparently, Marcos is also concerned with this. Tillman Durdin reports in a dispatch from Manila printed in the Oct. 1 *New York Times* that "Among actions taken today by President Marcos was to decree a pay raise for military officers and increase living allowances for enlisted men. He

has also promoted a number of officers."

The U.S. government has refused to comment on the declaration of martial law except to deny that it was consulted or had any advance knowledge of the matter and to make clear that it has no plans of interfering.

However, a Sept. 28 *Chicago Daily News* dispatch filed by Keyes Beech charges that Marcos agreed to protect U.S. economic interests in return for tacit approval of his move. Beech points out that the U.S. ambassador to the Philippines, Henry Byroade, spent two hours with Marcos on Sept. 21, the same day the decree on martial law was signed.

On Sept. 25 the central bank of the Philippines issued a statement assuring businessmen that martial law had not changed anything for them and stressing that "this is particularly true insofar as the country's foreign creditors are concerned."

On Sept. 26 Marcos said in an interview that he would interpret recent rulings of the Philippine Supreme Court on land ownership and foreign businesses in a way that would not injure U.S. interests. A report in the Sept. 27 *New York Times* by Till-

man Durdin explained that Marcos's assurances "are expected to go far toward allaying apprehension evidenced among Americans here with regard to the future of the American economic stake in the country. . . ."

Some 800 U.S. companies have an estimated \$3-billion invested in the Philippines. According to Durdin, "Mr. Marcos emphasized that the Philippines would continue to seek foreign investment and capital. . . ."



Ferdinand Marcos

Interview with Angolan revolutionists

By SCOTT ALEXANDER

Recently I was able to interview Jacob Khamalata and Paulo Jorge, two leaders of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola — People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) in Lusaka, Zambia. Khamalata is MPLA chief representative in Lusaka; Jorge is chief of the MPLA's Department of Information and Propaganda. MPLA is one of several organizations now carrying out armed struggle for the independence of Angola.

Khamalata and Jorge outlined the background to Portuguese colonialism in Angola: "The Portuguese arrived in Angola at the end of the fifteenth century — 1482 to be exact. Because Angola's people were organized in kingdoms on the basis of ethnic groups, our resistance was fragmented and weakened. But, even so, only in 1922 did the colonists succeed in totally subjugating and pa-

colonists roamed through Luanda slaughtering more than 3,000 Angolans. Khamalata and Jorge told me this "triggered a popular rebellion in the country's north, which was liberated, and extensive territories were held for six months. Even today our freedom fighters are in this area, only 60 miles from Luanda. We were forced to launch an armed struggle in order to gain our freedom!"

I asked them what effects the liberation struggle in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique had on Portugal. They replied that Portugal is a poor country and was able to maintain its huge armies and military efforts against her African colonies only with support from NATO powers, including the U.S., Britain, and West Germany.

"Lisbon spends 50 percent of its national budget on its colonial army. . . . Young men lose confidence and flee the country. Farms are being abandoned for lack of laborers at harvest time,

and military aid to Portugal. "If Washington supports the basic human right of self-determination," they said, "ask them why they are aiding the Portuguese colonial regime. If they are against aggression and the use of force, ask them why they supply the Portuguese with bombs, planes, and technicians."

"If Washington opposes violence, why have they trained over 3,000 Portuguese officers in both Portugal and the United States. . . ?"

"The role played by the U.S. government is most clearly seen in its agreement with Portugal to renew its lease for the Lages air base in the Azores Islands. The U.S. agreed to provide nearly \$500-million in loans and direct aid, which will allow Portugal to divert funds to its African wars. In return for this, Portugal not only provided America with another military base but was forced to accept increased American investment in Angola, particularly to exploit our petroleum in Cabinda through Gulf Oil and our diamonds through the Anglo-American Corporation."

They stressed the importance of Portuguese membership in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) because this military alliance provides most of the equipment Portugal uses in Africa. Portugal, which "won't even be able to produce an automobile until 1974," would be completely incapable of waging three colonial wars at the same time without this aid.

South Africa, they said, also provides the Portuguese with troops in Angola and Mozambique. They stressed the importance of uniting the different independence movements in Southern Africa to fight against their common enemies, South Africa and Portugal.

I asked them how American supporters of the Angolan revolution could support their struggle. They outlined a program of action to support the Angolan struggle:

"Expose and demonstrate against Gulf Oil's investments in Angola;

"Discourage American tourism in Portugal, one of Portugal's major sources of foreign exchange earnings;

"Boycott Angolan coffee;

"Expose the United States government's destructive and exploitative involvement in Southern Africa;

"Form support committees in your cities and universities to collect funds, clothing, and medical and school supplies for use in liberated areas in Angola;

"Increase your efforts against the criminal war in Vietnam, for liberation gained by one people is liberation and victory shared."



cifying Angola.

"For three decades the colonial regime was largely unchallenged, but in 1953 Angola's first political party was formed. It sought to organize and mobilize the people against Portuguese domination, making political and economic demands.

"Finding the Portuguese government unresponsive, the party in 1956 issued a manifesto calling on the people of Angola to join in a common front against the colonial regime. The result was the birth of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Five years later, on Feb. 4, 1961, MPLA militants and the people of Luanda [Angola's capital] attacked a military barracks and two prisons where movement leaders and activists had been held since 1959."

In the next few days Portuguese troops and

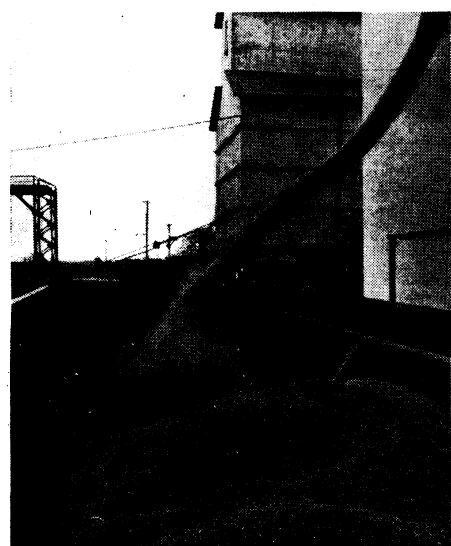
while 10 percent of Portugal's population are economic refugees in France, West Germany, and Switzerland. . . .

"The cost of the war has been mitigated, however, by Portugal's accelerated exploitation of Angola's diamonds, oil, and iron."

They explained that unlike other imperialist countries, Portugal's own economic backwardness made it necessary for it to maintain direct rule over its African empire. Portugal relies "on the colonies' great natural riches, cheap labor, and markets for inferior Portuguese industrial goods, which can't compete in Europe—or anywhere else, for that matter."

They exposed the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, which claims to support self-determination in Africa but has been providing significant eco-

U.S. trade with China and the Soviet Union:



Are they 'returning to capitalism'?

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 28—In the last three months the United States has reached a number of trade agreements with both Russia and China. The agreements indicate a significant turning point in economic relations between world imperialism and the Sino-Soviet bloc nations. They include:

- The sale of \$750-million worth of U.S. grain to the Soviet Union over a three-year period first announced July 8. This has already turned out to involve more than \$1-billion in one year—and a profit bonanza for two of the giant U.S. multinational grain exporters, Cargill Inc. and Continental Grain Co.

- Peking's purchase of 10 American-built Boeing 707 airliners for \$150-million announced Sept. 11. It is also expected that China will buy an additional \$25-million worth of equipment, including spare engines, from Pratt and Whitney.

- Washington's declaration Sept. 13 that it would help Rumania finance an offshore drilling venture in the Black Sea. This broke a five-year ban on U.S. credits to East European countries shipping goods to North Vietnam.

- Peking's agreement to purchase about 20 million bushels of U.S. grain announced Sept. 14. (The much larger Moscow grain purchase comes to about 400 million bushels.)

- Occidental Petroleum Corporation's announcement in Moscow Sept. 14 that it would—among other things—sell chemical fertilizers to the USSR and build a \$70-million U.S. trade center in Moscow, complete with a 400-room hotel.

- The announcement from the White House, also on Sept. 14, that presidential adviser Henry Kissinger had made "significant progress" in Moscow toward major trade agreements. The *Wall Street Journal* reported rumors of a "mammoth trade deal" that could bring trade between the two nations up to \$4.9-billion a year by 1977. Before the July grain sales, trade between the United States and the USSR amounted to only about \$200-million, less than one-twentieth of the projected 1977 figure.

And while these agreements sparked financial headlines, so did the talks in Peking between Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. Again the result is likely to be intensified trade. "Good neighborly relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence will open broad prospects for the further development of friendly contacts between our two peoples and the expansion of economic and cultural exchanges," Chou told Tanaka.

A former U.S. foreign service officer in China, John Davies, wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* Sept. 24, "In economic terms, Tanaka will try to increase opportunities for Japanese business in China. In this respect, China needs Japan more than Japan needs China. As a developing country, China needs capital goods and a wide range of sophisticated industrial products. . . ."

Return to capitalism?

These trade openings are important products of the Peking and Moscow summit talks last winter and spring. Along with diplomatic concessions, such as easing U.S. support for Taiwan, President Nixon agreed to ease trade relations in order to gain Moscow and Peking's aid in forcing Hanoi to settle the war. Both Russia and China will gain needed products. Imperialist monopolies will profit from the deals.

Do such arrangements constitute a "return to capitalism" on the part of Moscow and Peking? The question is interesting because both pro-Peking and pro-Moscow apologists have raised the argument in slandering their respective opponents.

For example, the American Communist Party used it in 1968 to justify Moscow's military occupation of Czechoslovakia and crushing of the Dubcek reform movement. A speech by Gus Hall, the CP's candidate for president, appeared in the *Daily World* Sept. 11 and 12, 1968.

Under the headline "Czechoslovakia's lingering illness," Hall declared: "A big Chicago business executive who left Prague before the tanks said: 'It's a crime. The Czechs were ready to really move. They wanted to open their country to Western trade—Western methods. Several ministers told me how good it felt to be free. I did not feel I was dealing with Communists.' He left his business in the hands of his European agent, a West German national."

So, according to Hall (who, of course, gives no source for the quotation), not only were Prague officials sliding toward the abyss by trading with Western capitalism, but, horror of horrors, in this case it included *West German* capitalism.

And from the other side of the Sino-Soviet dispute, the example of William Hinton's new book, *Turning Point in China*, may be cited. This unabashed hymn to "Mao Tsetung Thought" was published earlier this year by Monthly Review Press. Hinton explains that one of the many unpardonable crimes of "pro-Moscow" "capitalist roader" Liu Shao-chi was his "slavish worship of everything foreign."

"Instead of putting people to work developing new products and advanced designs, Liu Shao-chi advocated sending away for them. . . . if one relies on imperialists and social-imperialists [i.e., Moscow] for advanced technique one must also rely on them for the management, marketing, and educational trappings that surround it. Modernization comes in a complete package and it carries a

bourgeois label."

Woe to the Chinese passengers in the Boeing jetliners! Not only will these jets carry a bourgeois label, but it is the same label that is on the B-52s presently raining death and destruction from the skies over Indochina.

World realities

Stalinist apologists like Hall and Hinton probably don't give much thought to the arguments they mouth. It is a fact that the extent of trade now taking place between the Soviet Union and the United States dwarfs anything contemplated by Czechoslovakia in Dubcek's time. Far be it from Hall to reconsider this matter.

Nevertheless the central question is serious. There certainly is a point at which free access of imperialist goods to the Russian or Chinese or Czechoslovakian markets would undermine the bases of the nationalized and planned economies.

When the Bolsheviks came to power in the Soviet Union in 1917 they established a *monopoly of foreign trade* to prevent this. Foreign goods and investments were strictly controlled by the state, and this is a fundamental guarantee of workers' power.

By contrast, a central feature of imperialism is the unlimited access of goods and investment to all markets. The financial-industrial-military trusts of the Rockefellers, for instance, can reach into virtually every nation in the capitalist world with their investments and products. Moreover, they exploit labor forces numbering in the tens of thousands on all continents.

When a company like Boeing (which is largely financed by the Rockefeller banks) sells planes to China, it profits from the exchange. This amounts to a sacrifice of part of the surplus product of Chinese worker and peasant labor for the purchase of the foreign-made goods.

But this is far from constituting a return of capitalism to China. Here the question of degree is vitally important. Boeing sells 10 planes, but it manufactures hundreds. It owns no companies in China, and neither do any other U.S. corporations. The flow of goods and investment into China is severely limited as it is into the Soviet Union as well.

Figures can help clarify the picture. Take the case of the U.S.-Soviet grain deal, which is by far the largest trade between a capitalist and a workers state so far.

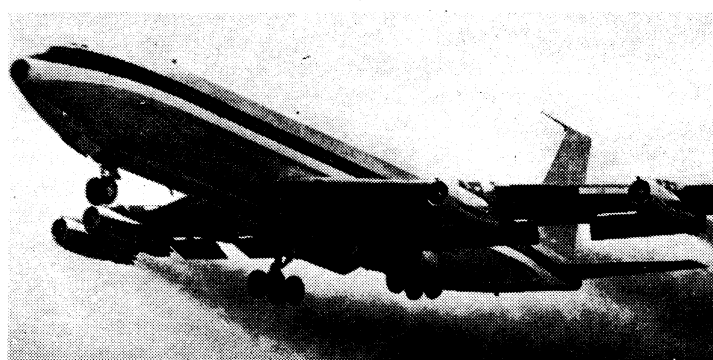
From the standpoint of the U.S. grain industry it is extremely beneficial. It amounts to roughly one-quarter of the total U.S. grain produce this year, it sent grain prices spiraling during the summer, and it has made undisclosed profits for the exporters.

But as a factor in the total Soviet economy it is very small. With an estimated Gross National Product of \$485-billion in 1970, one is talking about less than a quarter of one percent of the Soviet GNP involved in the grain trade. And, using the projected U.S.-Soviet trade figure of \$4.9-billion in 1977, assuming a normal growth of the Soviet economy at the same time to well over \$500-billion, we are still talking about only a fraction of one percent of the Soviet GNP at the future date. And even this small trade will be firmly under the control of the Soviet state.

Lenin's position

There is nothing wrong in principle with the Sino-Soviet bloc nations doing business with the imperialists. The case of Boeing planes might be arguable, not because of the identity of their manufacturer but because of their probable future usage by only the privileged bureaucratic strata of Chinese society.

In the case of Soviet grain there is an emergency facing that country because of the abnormally small grain harvest this year. Feeding the people is necessary and jus-



Boeing sold jetliners like this to Peking for \$150-million. Never has there been such extensive trade between the U.S. and the Sino-Soviet bloc nations.

tified, even though the American capitalists profit from it.

All the more was it necessary for the Soviet Union to attract foreign aid in Lenin's time. Under the conditions of social devastation caused by three years of civil war, the Bolsheviks adopted the "New Economic Policy," which partially restored capitalist relations within the Soviet Union itself. The NEP was also aimed at inviting foreign trade and investment in the young workers state.

Noteworthy was the Bolsheviks' programmatic clarity about what they were doing and their firm adherence to revolutionary principles. Lenin discussed trade with Britain in a 1920 report to the "8th All-Russia Congress of Soviets."

Continued on page 22

Spirit good but sub drive lags as fourth week begins

By NANCY COLE

OCT. 4—Rain canceled plans to set up subscription tables in Brooklyn last Saturday, but it wasn't enough to deter two sub getters. When a sudden downpour forced them into an apartment building in downtown Brooklyn, they proceeded to go door-to-door, selling nine *Militant* and one *International Socialist Review* subscriptions in less than an hour.

This is the spirit characterizing subscription efforts around the country as we move into the fourth week of the drive for 33,000 new readers. Most areas with large quotas are on time, and many have reported that their subscription plans include a goal of obtaining two-thirds of their quota by the middle of the drive.

As of this scoreboard the number of subscriptions received from all the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley subscription teams totals 1,010 out of a goal of 12,000. Since the teams will be out on the road for only eight weeks, this is a slow beginning and explains why the drive is behind by 1,000 this week.

For most teams this was their first week on tour; and while enthusiasm was high, getting started late has put them behind schedule. Through phone reports, however, they indicate they have sold more subs than have been received in the business office.

According to the Ohio regional team, one out of every 30 students at both Ohio Wesleyan University and Denison University now subscribes to *The Militant*. And 169 students at Ohio State University in Columbus bought McGovern truth kits during a Shriver rally. One hundred of those were sold by one team member, Mary Zins. The team reports selling more than 300 *Militant* subscriptions and at least 220 McGovern truth kits so far.

In addition to selling 22 subscriptions at Marquette University in Milwaukee last week, the Chicago regional team was featured in a front-page article in the campus newspaper. Under the headline "Socialists lash McGovern," the article describes the activity around the SWP campaign, quotes from the McGovern truth kit, and explains what the 17 YSJP teams are doing this fall.

Everywhere the teams have gone they have found receptivity to socialist ideas. This was the case when the national Midwest team visited the Eugene V. Debs House in Terre Haute, Ind., the house Debs built and spent most of his life in. The caretaker, excited about a team of young socialists visiting Terre Haute, gave them a complete guided tour and invited them to stay there while in town. Their stop in Terre Haute netted 59 subscriptions.

Beginning this week, subscription scoreboards will be compiled on Wednesday, instead of Tuesday. This will allow more time for the business office to receive weekend mail and will facilitate a more accurate assessment of the drive's progress in each area.

Please set for me a subscription quota of _____.
() List the above quota in *The Militant's* scoreboard.

Please send me a weekly bundle of *Militants* (circle one):

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Militant Gets Around

Nancy Cole



Continuing progress on the fall sales campaign: During two days of registration at Wayne State University in Detroit, 80 *Militants* were sold. Austin has been selling about half of their bundle of 200 on the University of Texas campus and the rest in the Black community and downtown. They also sold 10 at a high school.

Los Angeles deserves special mention for raising their standing bundle order to 700 last week, making it the largest bundle in the country.

● An SWP campaign supporter in Pullman, Wash., has decided to spread around at his own expense the newspaper campaigning for the socialist alternative in the elections. He writes,

"Please send, as my gift, 20-week introductory subscriptions to each of the following uncertain McGovern supporters. I believe a subscription to *The Militant* will possibly bring the socialists another vote."

● From our salesman in Catskill, N. Y.: "I'd reported earlier in the summer the great response I had selling *The Militant* up here in Woodstock. Well, that town has pretty well died, but I found an even better area—New Paltz State College in New Paltz, N. Y. Interest was extraordinary (young people are most open-minded I'm finding)—I had 34 copies of three different issues and sold out in two hours! Also, many said they already subscribed."

● It's reassuring to know that *Militant* subscriptions going to libraries don't just sit around gathering dust until binding time, as we can imagine a lot of other publications do. The renewal subscription for Fresno City College in California arrived late so that they missed some issues. Last week we received a note from the librarian there asking us to check on their subscription with the following comment: "Students and faculty have been asking for the newspaper and it is disappointing to tell them that it is not coming."

● The October *International Socialist Review* features an article by Mary-Alice Waters entitled "Feminism and the Marxist Movement." Waters refutes those who argue that the socialist movement has omitted the struggle against women's oppression from its theory and practice by documenting the record of the Marxist movement on feminism from its very founding.

Included in this history are the debates on feminism in the early American Socialist Party, discussions between Lenin and Clara Zetkin (of the German Social Democratic Party) on the strategy for winning female emancipation, and the role of socialists in the suffrage movement.

Also in the October *ISR* are "Prospects for a Black Party" by Derrick Morrison and "The Road to Freedom" by George Novack. Single copies can be ordered for 50 cents each from the *ISR* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. Bundles can also be ordered for 35 cents per copy.



Militant/Lora Eckert

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Pittsburgh, Pa.	5	16	320.0
Oxford, Ohio	10	20	200.0
Wichita Falls, Texas	15	10	66.7
Madison, Wis.	200	112	56.0
Edinboro, Pa.	60	32	53.3
Boulder, Colo.	175	91	52.0
Nashville, Tenn.	20	9	45.0
Portland, Ore.	700	289	41.3
Saranac Lake, N. Y.	25	10	40.0
Bloomington, Ind.	350	119	34.0
Seattle, Wash.	950	319	33.6
Storrs, Conn.	25	8	32.0
Hartford, Conn.	125	36	28.8
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,700	480	28.2
Providence, R. I.	125	33	26.4
Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,250	334	25.7
Cleveland, Ohio	1,300	331	25.5
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	2,200	562	25.5
Youngstown, Ohio	20	5	25.0
San Francisco, Calif.	2,050	506	24.7
Denver, Colo.	1,250	308	24.6
Lexington, Ky.	25	6	24.0
Austin, Texas	550	131	23.8
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	200	47	23.5
Lower Manhattan, N. Y.	1,250	285	22.8
Chicago, Ill.	2,500	568	22.7
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,900	431	22.7
Tallahassee, Fla.	150	32	21.3
St. Louis, Mo.	120	25	20.8
Champaign, Ill.	10	2	20.0
Upper West Side, N. Y.	1,250	236	18.9
Detroit, Mich.	1,500	265	17.7
Sarasota, Fla.	25	4	16.0
Boston, Mass.	2,500	378	15.1
Houston, Texas	1,050	139	13.2
Corvallis, Ore.	33	4	12.1
Burlington, Vt.	25	3	12.0
New Haven, Conn.	25	3	12.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,050	201	11.6
Binghamton, N. Y.	200	19	9.5
Cincinnati, Ohio	100	9	9.0
Atlanta, Ga.	1,250	105	8.4
San Diego, Calif.	400	31	7.8
Washington, D. C.	900	70	7.8
Knoxville, Tenn.	30	2	6.7
College Park, Md.	175	11	6.3
Durham, N. H.	50	3	6.0
Allentown, Pa.	50	2	4.0
Long Island, N. Y.	100	4	4.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	2	4.0
San Antonio, Texas	50	2	4.0
Worcester, Mass.	175	5	2.9
Kansas City, Mo.	150	4	2.7
Santa Barbara, Calif.	75	2	2.7
Red Bank, N. J.	50	1	2.0
Amherst, Mass.	150	2	1.3
Gary, Ind.	100	1	1.0
Alfred, N. Y.	10	0	0
Bethlehem, Pa.	10	0	0
Celina, Ohio	10	0	0
General	500	76	15.2
National Teams	1,400	202	14.4
TOTAL TO DATE		6,953	21.1
SHOULD BE		7,951	24.1
GOAL		33,000	100.0

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In Review

Books

Thirty Years of Treason

Thirty Years of Treason; Excerpts from Hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938-1968. Selected and edited by Eric Bentley. The Viking Press. New York, 1971. 991 pp. \$20. cloth.

The bulk of the contents of *Thirty Years of Treason* is transcripts of hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) from 1938 to 1968. But contrary to what one might expect, these are both readable and fascinating.

From the bare words in the stark, question-and-answer format of these official records, the reader is able to recreate the tragicomic drama of the hearings—to imagine scenes in the hearing room, hear the drawled questions, visualize the ignorant smugness of the committee, sense the witnesses' rage and defiance, or fear, servility, and humiliation.

Editor Eric Bentley has selected the testimony with skill, choosing mainly from that by witnesses associated with the world of entertainment: actors, singers, directors, and writers. If the hearings themselves were low drama, those Bentley shows us at least boasted a cast of stars. The book includes testimony from Bertolt Brecht, Lee J. Cobb, Gary Cooper, Hans Eisler, Sterling Hayden, Zero Mostel, Pete Seeger, and a host of others.

There are more villains than heroes represented in the book, but this is an accurate reflection of HUAC's history. Some 800 of the book's 991 pages record statements and testimony from the committee's heydays, 1947-1958. Those were good years for villainy.

For example, a repentant Sterling Hayden, called to testify in 1951, not only called his own brief membership in the Communist Party "the stupidest, most ignorant thing I have ever done," but gave the committee name after name of persons he knew to be Communist Party members or thought might be Communist Party members.

A committee counsel complimented him for telling "what you have known of Communism in your own life and in Hollywood," and then asked: "Have you taken any other action, besides that, which would indicate good faith on your part in the break which you claim you have made with the Communist Party?"

Kneeling was not enough for HUAC. They demanded that Hayden lie flat. He obliged and, facedown in the slime, testified: "I believe I have. One month after Korea was invaded, through my attorney, a letter was sent to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. . . . it seemed entirely probable that a conflagration would develop, and I hope[d], if that was the case, my services would not be denied—if the Marine Corps could use me—on the basis of this mistake I had made."

Witness after witness turns in performances like Hayden's until it becomes crushing. One begins to get a real sense of the hysteria and fear of McCarthyism. Thus it is a real joy to come upon the testimony of the rare, defiant witnesses.

The defiance of Zero Mostel is especially gratifying. Called to testify in 1955, the comedian stood up to the committee's intimidation without losing his sense of humor. The committee's counsel asked Mostel if he was known by the nickname "Zero." "Yes, sir," Mostel answered. "After my financial standing in the community, sir." Then he was asked: "Were you a member of the Young Communist League prior to being employed at Cafe Society?" He replied: "That has nothing to do with my employment, obviously—your question."

After trying to badger Mostel for some time only to be made the butt of his jokes, Congressman Clyde Doyle took another tack:

MR. DOYLE: *You are in a great field of entertainment of the American public. From now on, why don't you get far removed from groups that are known to be Communist dominated or Communist controlled, that sort of thing? . . .*

MR. MOSTEL: *My dear friend, I believe in the antiquated idea that a man works in his profession according to his ability rather than his political beliefs. . . .*

MR. DOYLE: *I am not asking about your political beliefs.*

MR. MOSTEL: *My dear friend, I believe in the idea that a human being should go on the stage to entertain to the best of his ability and say whatever he wants to say, because we live, I hope, in an atmosphere of freedom in this country.*

A counsel for the committee read from a program of an event in which Mostel was advertised as appearing with Dalton Trumbo, Hans Eisler, W. E. B. DuBois, Howard Fast, and others. He asserted that "your name on these many things for which Communist funds were being raised



Congressman Richard Nixon was a red-baiter and sensationalist. He served on the House Un-American Activities Committee, where his role in the Alger Hiss affair first put him in the national spotlight.

for Communist purposes bolstered and furthered those purposes. . . ."

MR. MOSTEL: *I appreciate your opinion very much, but I do want to say that—I don't know, you know—I still stand on my grounds, and maybe it is unwise for me to say this. If I appeared there, what if I did an imitation of a butterfly at rest? There is no crime in making anybody laugh. I don't care if you laugh at me.*

MR. JACKSON: *If your interpretation of a butterfly at rest brought any money into the coffers of the Communist Party, you contributed directly to the propaganda effort of the Communist Party.*

When it became too much for the committee at this point, Doyle dismissed the witness, telling him, "Remember what I said to you." Mostel answered, "You remember what I said to you."

In addition to the testimony, the book contains an introduction, notes, and an afterword by Bentley, as well as a few other items. In some of the first reviews of the book late last year and early this year the reviewers attacked Bentley for his afterword essay.

Among those who criticized Bentley were Jessica Mitford in the *Atlantic*, Saul Maloff in *Commonweal*, and Walter Clemons in *Newsweek*. In his afterword, Bentley criticized the posture taken by many of the committee's victims. He argued that the sort of testimony given by those who did hold radical beliefs, especially by Communist Party members, "lacked candor."

The gist of the attacks on Bentley was that by making such criticisms Bentley himself reveals that he is some sort of more enlightened anticommunist. It is not necessary for one to agree with all of Bentley's criticisms or endorse the tactical prescriptions he proposes in retrospect in order to state that these attacks were most unfair. He may say things that are wrong, but it is clear that his motives are the opposite of anticommunism. His essay is written as a partisan of the radical ideas HUAC was created to combat.

—LEE SMITH

Berlin in 1920's

Before the Deluge, A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920's by Otto Friedrich. Harper & Row. New York, 1972. 392 pp. \$10. cloth.

Berlin in the 1920s—a city of general strikes, uprisings, street clashes, and assassinations. A city torn by snipers, powerful generals, and hired mercenaries. But a city, also, producing innovation and discovery in the sciences, on the stage, and in literature.

Otto Friedrich approaches this portrait of Berlin with the competence of an experienced journalist. The result is a highly readable, almost expressionistic, panorama of Berlin from the end of World War I until Hitler's victory in 1933.

Although Friedrich for the most part displays little political understanding of the class battles raging in Germany at that time, he offers an honest and unpretentious picture of how Berlin might have appeared to someone unschooled in class politics. Particularly interesting are his sketches of the leading political figures of Germany's metropolis.

We see Karl Liebknecht, the popular revolutionary, as he leads a crowd of workers to the abandoned palace of the fleeing Kaiser during the 1918 revolution. And Friedrich Ebert, the leader of the Social Democratic Party, who unwillingly finds himself at the head of the new republic and unleashes the repressive apparatus left behind by the Kaiser. This led to the murders of both Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

In 1923 the worst inflation in history strikes. Prices soar to the point where a sausage might cost millions of marks, and shopkeepers and petty merchants face ruin overnight. For lack of a clear alternative posed by the mass working-class parties, the unemployed, ruined shopkeepers, and disgruntled soldiers eventually joined the Nazis in large numbers, providing Hitler with the base for his rise to power.

Unfortunately, the Communist Party, by the late 1920s under the control of the Stalinists, declared that the main enemies were the Social Democrats and their labor leaders, whom the Stalinists termed social-fascists. This policy of the CP only served to confuse the German masses and divide the ranks of those willing to fight fascism.

Here lies the real tragedy of the German experience, which Friedrich only touches on briefly, particularly in one instance when he interviews Richard Lowenthal. Lowenthal says, "In 1928, I was the national leader of the Communist student group. And in 1929, I was expelled, for what they called 'right-wing deviation.' . . . I was against splitting the trade-union movement and I was against treating the Social Democrats as 'Social-Fascists,' as the others called them. I still had some common sense."

Friedrich highlights his study with the personalities and trends of Germany's rich culture, expressed in Berlin at that time. It was in Berlin that Christopher Isherwood wrote the stories and sketches that resulted in the popular musical "Cabaret." Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe introduced modern innovations in architecture; Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld carried out his pioneer studies in homosexuality; and Albert Einstein developed theories that brought him worldwide fame.

Rich in musical tradition, Berlin produced Gustav Mahler, Arnold Schoenberg, and Artur Schnabel. Artists such as Paul Klee, Laszlo Mohol-Nagy, Wassily Kandinsky, and Käthe Kollwitz worked there. And modern theater took an immense step forward through the works of Alber Berg, Erwin Piscator, Max Reinhardt, Kurt Weill, and Bertolt Brecht.

On the night of the Reichstag fire in 1933, these figures and many others began to flee Germany, to face years in exile. Symbolically, Joseph Goebbels had the libraries and the art galleries quickly stripped of everything "degenerate," everything that marked modern culture, and had them burned, closing the door on the Berlin of the 1920s.

—ERNEST HARSCH

'REVOLT OF THE JURIES'



Some of 15,000 who demonstrated in New Haven, Conn., May 1-3, 1970, for release of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins. Radicalization has affected juries, too.

Militant/Michael Hardy

By GEORGE BREITMAN

The statement on juries made by Manhattan District Attorney Frank S. Hogan in August, after the acquittal of the "Tombs Three," deserves more attention than it got at the time.

Hogan, the top political figure in the metropolitan "law-enforcement" system, was angry not only about the jury decision in the case of the 1970 Tombs uprising but also about a series of other setbacks received by the prosecution in federal and state courts during the past few years.

Among these in the New York area have been the trials of the "Panther 21," Carlos Feliciano, the "Harlem Four," and the "Harlem Five." Outside of New York, the trials of Angela Davis, the Harrisburg "conspirators," Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, and others.

"It happened for the first time in the Panther case . . .," Hogan complained on Aug. 19. "This is a new ball game. What we face in this type of case is jurors making political statements and not doing what their oath requires them to do—returning a verdict based on the evidence adduced by witnesses. . . ."

Jurors in the Tombs trial were quick to retort that on the contrary their verdict had been based entirely on the evidence presented at the trial, meaning that they had found the "evidence" introduced by Hogan's lawyers to be phony and incredible.

Hogan's complaint can be seen as an alibi for losing several cases into which the government had put a lot of effort, as well as a not subtle attempt to intimidate and prejudice future jurors. But there is more to it than that.

An important change has taken place in recent years. *New York Post* reporter Ralph Blumenfeld has called it a "revolt of the juries," which is an apt term, given the necessary qualifications.

It used to be almost a routine mat-

ter for the government to get convictions of radicals or people accused of "subversive" activities. The odds were always in favor of jurors accepting the government's case, no matter how trumped-up it might be. In trials involving radicals, jurors either believed the government lawyers, or were too cowed to stand up against them, or were too afraid that they would be labeled radicals themselves if they acquitted radicals.

I don't think it is an exaggeration to say that's how things were in nine out of every 10 United States political trials in this century. The real facts, the actual evidence, the competence of lawyers on either side, all seemed subsidiary: the jury that did not convict radicals was exceptional.

That's why the 70-year-old Hogan was so indignant. All his life he has been accustomed to obedient jurors. Arrest some people, accuse them of conspiracy or subversion, seat a carefully screened jury, trot out cops and stool pigeons as witnesses, and the results were practically automatic.

But something has happened to disrupt this prosecutors' idyll. Some jurors—not all, only some, but enough to indicate the start of a new pattern—are no longer following their traditional cues.

Instead of swallowing the prosecution stories whole, they are expecting the prosecution to *prove* them. Instead of believing whatever they are told by the government's witnesses, they are weighing the evidence and not closing their ears to the defense lawyers' exposures of the contradictions in the government's case. Instead of convicting all radicals, they are acquitting some and failing to come to a unanimous decision about others.

"Political statements"? Of course. In trials that are initiated by the government for political reasons, jurors necessarily make political as well as other kinds of judgments. Hogan never complained about "political statements" by jurors who convicted rad-

ical defendants on his demand. What he dislikes is not that the jurors' "statements" are political, but that their "politics" is unacceptable to him and the ruling class.

By this I do not mean to imply that the jurors who acquitted Angela Davis agree with her politics or that the jurors who refused to convict Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins agree with their politics. No, the "political statements" made by the jurors in those cases were more along the following lines:

"You didn't prove your case against these defendants; in fact, it seemed to us to be an attempted frame-up. We resent being used as accessories to a frame-up so much that we are willing to accept the public onus of having acquitted radicals."

That's not a revolutionary statement, but from the standpoint of the government it does more than smack of insubordination—it is relatively radical. And it reflects the general radicalization of the last dozen years in this country.

Millions of Americans learned during that time that they could not rely on the honesty of the government. If the president lies to them, why should they take the word of a district attorney as gospel? If the Department of Justice and the FBI are exposed as having engaged in frame-ups, why should they continue to assume that local "law-enforcers" are above doing the same? If police corruption becomes so rampant that it is accepted as virtually universal, why should they believe the testimony of a police witness unsupported by any evidence?

It just took a little longer for these attitudes to enter into the consciousness of people serving on juries. For them it was not only a matter of having new attitudes, but of taking a public stand based on them. It took a little longer, but that doesn't make it any less significant.

Of course there are other factors

to explain the "revolt of the juries." But the most important are related to and stem from the general radicalization that has changed so much in this country. For example, the role of the defense lawyers, especially the younger and more aggressive ones.

Less passive and more audacious than most radical lawyers used to be, they deserve credit for having helped to change the composition of juries in radical trials. Understanding that who sits on the jury may be the most decisive thing that occurs in the courtroom, they have broken the near-monopoly that the prosecutors used to have in this area. By skillful use of legal technicalities and contradictions they have succeeded in broadening the composition of juries so that they are not automatically and exclusively made up of conservative and chauvinist stooges for the prosecutor and so that to a certain degree (not enough, but more than before) they reflect the class and racial character of the community in which the trial takes place.

These lawyers would hasten to add that of course reflecting the character of the community would not be enough if the consciousness of the people in the community had not been raised, and that the more mass support and sympathy political defendants get, the more acquittals they can win. And they would be the first to agree that their own radicalization, the source of their energetic efforts in behalf of the victims of repression, was inspired by the radicalization of the national minorities, the youth, the women, the antiwar GIs, the prisoners, etc.

Nothing stated above should be misconstrued as an underestimation of the serious damage done to the radical movement by political prosecutions. Even if all radical defendants in such trials were to be acquitted (and we're a long way off from that), they would still be extremely harmful because of the energies and resources that have to be diverted away from organizational-political activities toward defense and legal work. The only fair trial in such cases is no trial, as has been said; and the mere holding of such trials, whatever their outcome, represents a gain for the antiradical strategy of the government.

But that doesn't mean the "revolt of the juries" is an insignificant thing. On the contrary, it indicates that the chances of defeating legal frame-ups are better than they used to be, and that there is less basis than before for pessimism and hopelessness: (These are precisely the moods that the government seeks to spread among radicals, precisely the moods that have led some to abandon the struggle altogether and others to substitute individual for mass action.)

What follows from the "revolt of the juries" is that the radical movement must give serious attention to the tasks of legal defense and of building broad united-front committees and actions to promote them. Ultraleftism and pseudorevolutionary irresponsibility in this area have less justification than ever before and must be fought relentlessly until we are strong enough to prevent the capitalist class from victimizing anyone.

Another thing that follows from it is a reminder once again of how wrong were the radical tendencies who were panicking themselves or others during the 1968 election campaign with their predictions about fascism or all-out repression around the corner. Repression is always an option for the ruling class, and one that they exercise even in "normal" times. But it isn't a weapon that they can always use indiscriminately or with complete success, especially in a period of general radicalization. And whatever happens in the 1972 election is not going to change the nature of the present period.

Calendar

BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS—KEY ISSUE IN THE '72 ELECTIONS. Speaker: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Featuring Evelyn Reed, feminist and anthropologist. Sat., Oct. 14, 6:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$3.50, h.s. students and unemployed \$2.50. For reservations call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

MICHIGAN'S ABORTION REFERENDUM—Pro & Con. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES

CAMPAIGN BANQUET WITH ANDREW PULLEY, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 29. Refreshments, 5 p.m.; international buffet, 6 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. Boces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont. Donation: \$5, h.s. students \$3. For more information or reservations call (213) 461-8131.

THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 8:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: economics; ecology; the struggles of women, Blacks, and Chicanos for liberation; the antiwar movement; literature and art; the student movement; trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NATIONAL

Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will appear on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" along with other candidates from the smaller parties on Sun., Oct. 8, 1 p.m. (New York time).

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE '72 ELECTIONS AND BEYOND: REFORM OR REVOLUTION? Speakers: Nat Henloff, writer for *Village Voice*; Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee. Fri., Oct. 13, 8:30 p.m. New York University South Lobby, Loeb Student Center, 4th St. and LaGuardia Pl. Sponsored by the Loeb Program Board. No admission charge.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

A LUTA CONTINUA—A film on the struggle in Mozambique. Speaker: Robert Van Lierop of African Information Service, who made film in Mozambique. Fri., Oct. 13, 8:30 p.m. 2744 Broadway. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

REPORT FROM HANOI. Speakers: Mary Ann Hamilton, one of the persons who brought POWs back from Hanoi; Dave Zilly, Vietnam veteran and member of National Peace Action Coalition. Slides of Vietnam will be shown. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 1 University N.E.,

Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

...Arabs

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— the bitter fruit of this "antiterrorist" campaign—Gromyko's comments about Black September's "criminal actions" provide nourishment to the international atmosphere that led to the attacks.

Gromyko's statement did not criticize the Black September commandos from the revolutionary viewpoint that these are courageous and heroic fighters who gave their lives for Palestinian freedom but whose tactics are totally ineffective in helping achieve this goal. Instead of explaining the ineffectiveness of kidnappings and assassinations by small groups, Gromyko attacked Black September on the opportunist grounds that it was wrong to "disrupt the diplomatic activity of states and their representatives, transport ties between them and the normal course of international contacts and meetings."

In other words, Gromyko was not so much concerned with the struggle against the reactionary regime of the Israeli settler-state as he was with the preservation of "peaceful coexistence" between the Soviet Union and the imperialist rulers.

The foreign policy of the privileged bureaucratic clique that dominates the USSR is governed by its own narrow interests and by the utopian notion that socialism can be built inside the borders of a single country. For this reason it is willing to trade defense of the world revolution for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Further evidence of this sell-out policy comes from the Sept. 27 *Washington Post*. The *Post* reports that the evening before his UN address Gromyko dined with U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, who had introduced the U.S. treaty into the UN. According to the *Post*, "Rogers and Gromyko's comments on his proposal [the treaty] had been 'not unfriendly.'"

The approach taken by the *Daily World*, the voice of the Communist Party in the U.S., was close to Gromyko's. After the death of the Israeli athletes on Sept. 5, a *World* editorial attacked the Palestinian fighters in terms little different from those used by the Zionists. It claimed on Sept. 6 that the Black September action "was born of nationalistic insanity and desperado mentality." It also claimed that "The murders [which even prominent capitalist sources have stated may have been because of West German and Israeli disregard for the athletes' lives—T. T.] and the holding of the Israeli athletes as hostages is . . . counter-revolutionary." A news article in the same issue was headlined "World assails terrorist act at Olympic Games."

...trade

Continued from page 18

"Our aim now is to obtain a trade agreement with Britain so as to start more regular trade and be able to buy as soon as possible the machinery necessary for our extensive plan to rehabilitate the national economy," said Lenin. "The sooner we do this the greater will be the basis ensuring our economic independence of the capitalist countries. At present, after having burnt their fingers in the armed invasion of Russia, they cannot think of an immediate resumption of war. We must seize every opportunity and bend every effort to achieve trade relations even at the cost of maximum concessions."

Lenin's subsequent remarks in the same speech were quite different from anything that has been heard from the privileged bureaucrats in Moscow or Peking since Stalin's takeover.

"The experience of the history of revolutions and great conflicts teaches that wars, a series of wars, are inevitable. The existence of a Soviet Republic alongside of capitalist countries—a Soviet Republic surrounded by capitalist countries—is so intolerable to the capitalists that they will seize any opportunity to resume the war."

For these reasons, Lenin declared, "any attempt to present us seriously with an ultimatum that we get rid of the Communist International is inexcusable."

The Bolsheviks never preached "peaceful coexistence." They knew and stated that so long as imperialism existed it would drive toward future wars. Trading with the imperialists in no way lessened this danger. It bought time. Only the spread of world revolution, under the leadership of the Communist International, could bring a future peace to humanity.

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(Signed)
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THE MILITANT

Women confront N.Y. anti-abortion group

By CAROL LIPMAN

The so-called Respect for Life Week opened in New York Oct. 1 as Cardinal Cooke of the New York Roman Catholic Archdiocese delivered his Sunday sermon against the liberalized state abortion law under the guise of "respect for the unborn."

However, the week was also declared Women's Right to Choose Week by more than 100 women and men who marched in a spirited picket line Oct. 2 outside the headquarters of the New York "Right to Life" organization. The picket was organized by the New York Women's Abortion Action Coalition.

The anti-abortion group is housed within the offices of the New York archdiocese, which provides the group with church tax-exempt funds and materials. The anti-abortion group, backed by the Catholic hierarchy, is the major force behind the effort to repeal the liberalized New York abortion law.

The struggle between abortion-rights forces and anti-abortion groups is intensifying again in New York as the legislature prepares to open at the turn of the year. After the near defeat of the liberal law in the spring, interest in the abortion issue is high. Support is broadening for the activities being organized by New York WONAAC, including the abortion hearings planned for Oct. 21-22.

WONAAC supporters attended the Sept. 30 open membership meeting of the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus, which drew close to 200 participants. The speakers included Representative Bella Abzug and Gloria Steinem.

The abortion workshop at the meeting—one of the larger workshops—readily endorsed the abortion hearings. They were then endorsed by the meeting as a whole.

After the meeting many caucus members also endorsed the hearings as individuals, including Jeannette Washington of the New York Welfare Rights Organization, Madeline Provinzano of the *Daily World*, and Eleanor Holmes Norton, chairwoman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights.

The New York abortion hearings will open on Friday evening, Oct. 20, with a debate. Dr. Barbara Roberts and another supporter of the right to abortion will confront Father Lynaugh of Columbia University and Dr. Carl Kluges, a gynecologist at St. Vincent's hospital—both opponents of women's right to abortion.

The hearings on Saturday, Oct. 21, will focus on how the New York law has benefited women, why the restrictions contained in it should be eliminated, and will analyze the anti-abortion forces in New York State. After the testimony, panels, and workshops, the hearings will summarize the evidence and present charges. The hearings will be held at the New York University Law School auditorium.

The extensive activities of New York WONAAC have netted significant news coverage. A major article on WONAAC's work appeared in the *New York Times*, and the *New York Post* ran an article as well as a favorable editorial. Extensive radio coverage included a five-minute statement on the *New York Times* radio station by Barbara Mutnick, a spokeswoman for New York WONAAC.

WONAAC activities have met with a very favorable response at sizable women's liberation and abortion meetings on the campuses and meetings of other New York women's organizations. WONAAC's approach is to fight to defend the

rights contained in the current New York abortion law while also demanding an end to all restrictions on abortion.

Abortion hearings are scheduled during October in more than a dozen states as preliminary events leading up to the International Abortion Tribunal called by WONAAC for March 9-11, 1973.

In addition, WONAAC is organizing a picket line and rally at the White House in Washington, D.C., as the U.S. Supreme Court hears challenges to the Texas and Georgia abortion laws on Oct. 11.

For more information about WONAAC, write to its national office at 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 315, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

New York Post

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To Save Abortion Reform

A band of gallant veterans, who were savagely besieged earlier this year, began mobilizing this week for another defensive effort—against a particularly offensive campaign. They are looking for some more courageous volunteers; it could be a long and bitter fight, with many casualties.

The defenders in question, under the banner of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, are bracing for another attack on this state's liberalized abortion law—which would have been overrun in Albany last session if Gov. Rockefeller had not vetoed an attempted repeal and been sustained in the courts.

There has been no fundamental change in the issues. The abortion law, which has relieved countless women of pain and despair, has amply proved its human worth. Taking advantage of it is a matter of free choice, not compulsion.

The WNAAC plans a series of fall demonstrations and lobbying efforts in defense of the present law. It merits the aid of women throughout the city, and men as well, who question a "right to life" campaign that so callously ignores human rights.

Above is the Sept. 28 New York Post editorial, published several days before WONAAC's picket of anti-abortion headquarters.

Mayor Perk pleads broke

Cleveland city strike heads for showdown

By ROBERT BRENNAN

CLEVELAND, Oct. 1—Cleveland city workers and Mayor Ralph Perk's administration appeared to be headed for a showdown as a strike involving 3,000 workers entered its second week.

The fight surfaced when members of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 100 voted overwhelmingly to reject a city contract proposal and to go on strike Sept. 25. Local 100 has had total participation from its 1,700 members but has been unable to enforce the strike among the 1,300 non-union members it represents.

An additional 1,250 workers joined the strike Sept. 29 after members of the predominantly Black Municipal Foremen and Laborers Local 1099 rejected the latest city proposal. Earlier in the week, the city had failed in two attempts to win a court injunction forcing the strikers back to work.

Local 1099's decision raised the possibility of the strike spreading among the remaining city workers and completely paralyzing garbage removal services, the water department, and the Municipal Light Company, which provides 30 percent of Cleveland's electricity.

Perk's response was to issue an ultimatum Sept. 29 threatening workers with "the full power of my office" if they did not return to work on Monday, Oct. 2. In a saber-rattling news conference, Perk implied he would invoke Ohio's Ferguson Act, which denies public employees the right to strike. This would be an extreme measure even for Perk, a mayor who has shown an amazing lack of political finesse during his administration, and it would generate strong opposition from the Cleveland labor movement.

The issues that triggered the strike go back to Carl Stokes's administration. The unions representing city workers agreed to forgo a wage increase in return for important fringe benefits in their 1970 negotiations with the city. That con-

tract expired this year with most of its provisions unfulfilled.

The city and a coalition of eight unions had been locked in fruitless negotiations for weeks. The workers are demanding a long-overdue minimum 5 percent wage increase. They have not had a pay raise since 1969.

The other basic issue in the strike has been the Perk administration's failure to implement fringe benefits guaranteed in the 1970 contract. The benefits include a fully paid family hospitalization plan and a step-increase setup that grants a 10 cents per hour raise once a year to compensate for increased job experience.

The city's position has been consistent throughout the negotiations. It claims it is broke. It acknowledges its failure to live up to the 1970 contract, but claims it could not afford to pay either the wage increase or the retroactive fringe benefits.

Perk's final offer to the unions prior to Local 100's strike vote was 50 percent implementation of the 1970 benefits package in 1973, and the remainder in 1974, with no pay increase and no additional benefits.

The city workers' action has struck a chord of sympathy among Cleveland's workers. Seven hundred teamsters who drive city garbage trucks have refused to cross Locals 100 and 1099 picket lines. The maintenance workers in city hall walked off the job last Sept. 26 in sympathy with the strike. On Sept. 29, county workers represented by AFSCME Local 1746 staged a march from the county welfare building to city hall. More than 300 workers participated in a brief picket line set up around city hall and in a rally held nearby.

Important tasks confront Locals 1099 and 100 as they enter a crucial period for the city workers' strike. Several key unions have not accepted the city's proposals. Yet they have failed to join the strike and have thereby severely limited its ef-



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Demonstration in support of city workers' strike

fectiveness. The workers these unions represent must be won over if the strike is to be successful.

Two more problems that must be dealt with involve court injunctions passed Sept. 25, and Sept. 26. The first ordered Local 100's 14-member negotiating committee—which includes its entire leadership—to engage in nonstop negotiations with the city. The practical effect of this has been to remove the strike leadership from its most important job: organizing the strike.

The second injunction denied Local 100 the right to picket city facilities on the grounds that essential services were threatened. This has seriously weakened the union's ability to enforce the strike.

Both of these injunctions must be fought with every means available.